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Muslim Men in the Imagination of the Medieval West, c. 1000 – c. 1250

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All photos have been taken by the author.

Introduction. The Saracen Man in the Present and the Past

The Present

The Muslim, or Saracen, man has been a figure in the Western imagination for a long time, his meaning and importance constantly developing. The terror attacks committed by Al-Qaida on 11 September 2001 resulted in drastic change, and the start of a longer cultural shift. They had a major impact on how the Middle East and Muslims were, and are, represented in Western culture and media, including cinema, literature and media reporting.[1] It is important to note that from the very beginning medievalism was an important aspect of these developments. In an address given by former U.S. president George W. Bush, only five days after the terrorist attacks, he stated that the attacks represented both 'a new kind of evil'[2] and a 'kind of barbarism'[3] from the past. At the end of the address the real punch for the medievalist came, when he labelled the war on terror a 'crusade'.[4] The address revealed not only horror over the events, it also called on the past, both in terms of barbarity and specifically the notion of crusading, with all its associations. While the use of medieval imagery in politics was not new, the idea of crusading gained even more traction in the post-9/11 context where it began to shape

[1] Jack G. Shaheen, *Guilt: Hollywood's Verdict on Arabs after 9/11* (Northampton, 2008), pp.3-89.
[2] George W. Bush, 'Remarks by the President Upon Arrival', the South Lawn, 16 September 2001, [http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010916-2.html] (last access 30 April 2018).
[3] Bush, 'Remarks by the President Upon Arrival'.
[4] Bush, 'Remarks by the President Upon Arrival'.

neoconservative ideology.[5] Crusading against Islam was obviously a fact in the Central Middle Ages and onwards, but the way this has been used politically and rhetorically since 9/11 is often far removed from the medieval reality.

On 22 July 2011 the Norwegian far-right terrorist Anders Behring Breivik attacked the summer camp of the Norwegian Worker's Youth League (AUF) after detonating a bomb outside the Norwegian parliament. His actions killed sixty-nine people, the majority were eighteen years of age or younger. While his targets were not Muslims themselves he also released a manifesto online, in which he presented a strong anti-Muslim ideology. He considered himself as part of a greater movement opposing not only Muslims, but their supposed leftist allies who allowed them into Norwegian society and they became his real target. His ideas were rooted in an imagined medieval past that flourishes in far-right politics, in which the conflict with Islam is central and ongoing, and Breivik even claimed to be a member of an international organisation of Templars.[6] While this particular propagation of these ideas was extreme, their essential core is not only found on the fringe. In the Nordic context of Breivik, and the leader of the nationalist right-wing party the Sweden Democrats, Jimmie Åkesson, they are repeated. In a 2009 debate article in the newspaper *Aftonbladet* on the problems of multicultural societies, Åkesson argued that there was 1400 years of ongoing conflict between Christianity and Islam.[7] He argued that this conflict made the two religions incompatible, and that their fundamental differences

[5] Bruce Holsinger, *Neomedievalism, Neoconservatism, and the War on Terror* (Chicago, 2007); Daniel Wollenberg, *Medieval Imagery in Today's Politics* (Leeds, 2018).
[6] Daniel Wollenberg, 'The New Knighthood: Terrorism and the Medieval', in *Postmedieval: a Journal of Medieval Cultural Studies*, 5:1 (2014), pp.21-33; Daniel Wollenberg, 'Defending the West: Cultural Racism and Pan-Europeanism on the Far-Right', in *Postmedieval: a Journal of Medieval Cultural Studies*, 5:3 (2014), pp.308-319.
[7] Jimmie Åkesson, 'Muslimerna är vårt största utländska hot', *Aftonbladet*, 19 October 2009, [http://www.aftonbladet.se/debatt/debattamnen/politik/article12049791.ab] (accessed 5 September 2016, 13:30).

meant that the conflict would never end. These ideas are not unique to the Nordic context, but are widespread in far-right communities, and has gained further traction following the refugee crisis in the wake of the Syrian Civil War. In this debate the representation of Muslim men really comes to the forefront.

The Islamic world is depicted as barbaric and medieval, with constant *jihād* against the non-Muslim world from the life of Muhammad. This is a strong narrative, in which the Middle Ages looms large. This polarising issue has very little to do with actual medieval history, but rather modern ideas and medievalism, but it still has an impact on the study of history. This makes it important for actual historians of the Middle Ages to examine the medieval view on some of these issues. This thesis will examine the representation of Muslim -- or Saracen men, as they will mostly be referred to in this thesis -- in the Central Middle Ages, focusing on the twelfth century and the development of the crusading movement. This will not only be done through a lens of religion, but also its intersections with gender and ethnicity to form a fuller picture of the views of medieval Latin people. While the combination of questions and sources brings a new perspective, the study of Islam in medieval Europe does have a rich tradition, which will be introduced before moving onto the questions tackled in this thesis.[8]

Historiography

The first attempts to examine how medieval Christians viewed Muslims came out in the early 1940s, with one article by William W. Comfort and one by C. Meredith Jones, both

[8] Norman Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens: An Interpretation of the* Chansons de Geste (Edinburgh, 1984),

focusing on Saracens in medieval French literature, taking a more descriptive than analytical approach.[9] Both scholars concerned themselves with literary tropes, suggesting that the Saracens were basically figuring as anti-Franks, their opposite and ultimate foe. This interpretation remains useful, but is far from the only facet of representation. Also, both Comfort and Jones focused far more on trying to explain this by the backwardness of medieval society, rather than trying to understand why the Saracens came to fill this role. That idea would remain relevant.

It was not until the late 1950s that the issue came under greater scrutiny with Norman Daniel's seminal *Islam and the West*. Unlike Comfort and Jones, Daniel dismissed romances as a source for dealing with views of Islam, based on their interpretation of medieval people as simpleminded and xenophobic, and instead focused on learned material, primarily theological sources.[10] The impact of Daniel's work resulted in a strict division between the study of romances and other sources which has shaped the field. There is still a division between literary scholars and historians who explore these issues, even if Daniel's rationalisation for this has today been more or less dismissed. Even Daniel later refuted himself on the issue, producing a monograph on Saracens in *chansons de geste* in 1984, called *Heroes and Saracens*, but his initial statement did have an impact since it was the first extensive attempt to survey medieval Western attitudes to Islam. Unlike most medieval historians, Daniel had a great understanding of Islamic history and culture, for many years working for the British Council in places like Baghdad, Khartoum and Cairo. He was a harsh critic of the medieval West as well as those celebrating it, finding the roots of modern misunderstandings about the Islamic world in the medieval period. His

[9] William W. Comfort, 'The Literary Rôle of the Saracens in the French Epic', in *PMLA*, 55:3 (1940); C. Meredith Jones, 'The Conventional Saracen of the Songs of Geste', in *Speculum*, 17:2 (1942).
[10] Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh, 1958), pp.9-10.

follow-up to *Islam and the West*, *The Arabs and Mediaeval Europe* was published in 1975. It focused less on how the foundation of the modern ideas were found in the Middle Ages, but still contributed to the overall view by stating that medieval writing was by nature ignorant and hostile towards Islam, and linked to proto-Imperialism.[11] His methods have in more recent years been rightfully criticised for superimposing modern ideas onto medieval people, essentially writing history backwards, and in essence celebrating the enlightenment of the modern Anglophone world compared to the medieval past.[12] These are essentialist ideas that rest on a colonial understanding of the world. Regardless of how we consider Daniel's interpretation today he not only shaped the field, but his attention to it caused others to follow.

The second important early work was *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* by R.W. Southern, published in 1962. This work clearly followed on from Daniel and focused on the intellectual development in the medieval West, but spent less time condemning the ideas of medieval people as prejudiced and uncivilised. Southern's most important contribution is perhaps that he described the rise of Islam as the ultimate enemy of Western society during the Middle Ages. This narrative showed little interest in Islam in the early Middle Ages, but focussed on the growth of polemic and crusade in the twelfth century, and more serious investigation of Islam by Christian theologians from the thirteenth century, which is an interpretation that has remained popular. It also works well together with Comfort and Jones' writing, taking it one step further than simply Saracen knights, but Islam itself as the main enemy of not just the Franks, but all Latins. It also fitted well with earlier works, such as that by Henri Pirenne, who argued that the Islamic

[11] Norman Daniel, *The Arabs and Mediaeval Europe* (London, 1975), pp.320-324.
[12] John V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York, 2002), p.280; Katharine Scarfe Beckett, *Anglo-Saxon Perceptions of the Islamic World* (Cambridge, 2003), p.231.

invasions were the main economic disruptors in the Early Middle Ages, a theory that even in Southern's day was mostly dismissed.[13] Despite the emphasis on religious sources by Daniel and Southern, there were still articles on the Saracens in literature, in a similar manner to Comfort and Jones, but incorporating some of the sensibilities and interpretations of Daniel.[14] There were also a couple of articles produced on how the Saracens were depicted in accounts of the First Crusade.[15] Another interesting volume is *The Matter of Araby in Medieval England* (1977) by Dorothee Metlitzki which, rather than limiting itself to a specific type of source, focused geographically and used a variety of sources from that region, showing how the Islamic world had influenced and inspired medieval English literature and learning.[16] This had to some extent been done by Daniel and Southern, who both focused on the Anglo-French context, but both made generalisations for all of the medieval West based on only slightly less limited geography. Metlitzki also made use of French material, because of the cultural connections between France and England, but made clear that her study was regional which had an impact on her conclusions.

1978 was an important year for scholarship concerning Western relationships with the rest of the world, as it was the year when Edward Said published his *Orientalism* which, despite criticism remains a cornerstone for postcolonial studies.[17] What is interesting for us

[13] Henri Pirenne, *Mohammad and Charlemagne* (London, 1939); Alfred F. Havighurst (ed.), *The Pirenne Thesis: Analysis, Criticism, and Revision* (London, 1976), note that this is the third edition, first published in 1958.
[14] Gerald Herman, 'Some Functions of Saracen Names in Old French Epic Poetry' in *Romance Notes*, XI:2 (1969).
[15] Beatrice White, 'Saracens and Crusaders: From Fact to Allegory', in *Medieval Literature and Civilization: Studies in Memory of G.N. Garmonsway*, ed. R.A. Waldon, London, 1961; Rosalind Hill, 'The Christian view of the Muslims at the time of the First Crusade', in *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Period of the Crusades*, ed. P.M. Holt (Warminster, 1977).
[16] Dorothee Metlitzki, *The Matter of Araby in Medieval England* (London, 1977).
[17] Ziad Elmarsafy, Anna Bernard and David Attwell (eds.), *Debating* Orientalism (Basingstoke, 2013).

is how entwined Said's book was with medieval scholarship, even if his analysis was focused on the modern context. He used Daniel's interpretation to show that the prejudice about the Orient had been an aspect of Western society for a long time, even if he actually gave more credit to Southern, since Said himself had little knowledge about the medieval period. [18] In fact, a lot of the ideas later promoted by Said can be seen in Daniel's own writing, especially *The Arabs and Mediaeval Europe*, which is why a lot of the same criticisms can be aimed at both. But although Said might have been foreshadowed by Daniel, it is impossible to deny the impact Said had by bringing attention to a much wider audience of misrepresentations of the world beyond the West, particularly the Islamic world. Specifically, for the issue at hand, there was more attention given to the role of Muslims in the medieval world, growing slowly during the 1980s, and increasingly so in the 1990s.

Benjamin Z. Kedar published a book on conversion of Muslims in 1984, which was important as it dealt with medieval approaches to Islam in a nuanced way, showing the links between the violence of crusade and simultaneous interest in conversion and mission.[19] This can be linked to the growing scholarship on the growth of medieval intolerance from the Central Middle Ages, which reached its peak with R.I. Moore's seminal *The Formation of a Persecuting Society* in 1987.[20] In general, a more complex picture of the Middle Ages was painted in this period. The Islamic world, and the Muslims associated with it, were no longer simply foreign enemies, and the medieval mind was considered as complex, rather than an intolerant one based on a lack of civilization. The impact of Islam

[18] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (London, 1978), pp.59-63.
[19] Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches toward the Muslims* (Princeton, 1984).
[20] R.I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950-1250* (Oxford, 1987).

on European culture, at least from the Iberian Peninsula, was at the same time promoted by María Rosa Menocal.[21] Following these important works there was growing interest in the beginning to middle of the 1990s in Muslims living under Christian rule, as well as how the Islamic world influenced the Latin Christian world in the medieval period.[22]

The development from the second half of the 1990s has been immense. Rather than just one root, it has become a tree with many different branches. From this period there are many examples of the ideas initially put forward in the late-1970s having reached maturity, with enough groundwork laid to take the field into new, interesting places. Two edited volumes, John V. Tolan's *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam* (1996) and David R. Blanks and Michael Frassetto's *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (1999), show how the field was developing, giving greater levels of agency to non-Christians.[23] Because these were collections they covered topics from the early Middle Ages to the sixteenth century, including diverse topics such as Iberian polemics against Islam, Muslims depicted as pagans in First Crusade writing and scholarly cooperation in the twelfth century. Despite scholars, like Daniel, considering Muslims as more advanced than medieval Western people, they were still generally not focused on by medieval historians. Muslims and Islamic history were, and are, primarily studied in departments of Middle Eastern studies. While there are good reasons for this, such as the fact that Islamic history

[21] María Rosa Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary: a Forgotten Heritage* (1987, Philadelphia).
[22] James M. Powell (ed.), *Muslims under Latin Rule, 1100-1300* (Princeton, 1990); Dionisius A. Agius and Richard Hitchcock (eds.), *The Arab Influence in Medieval Europe* (Reading, 1994); Alan V. Murray, 'Ethnic Identity in the Crusader States: The Frankish Race and the Settlement of Outremer', in *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, ed. Simon Forde, Lesley Johnson and Alan V. Murray (Leeds, 1995); Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal: a Political History of al-Andalus* (Harlow, 1996).
[23] John V. Tolan (ed.), *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam: a Book of Essays* (London, 1996); David R. Blanks and Michael Frassetto (eds.), *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, (Basingstoke, 1999).

generally requires knowledge of Arabic, this often leads to the creation of an unnecessary barrier between civilizations, making them difficult to study together. However, this was at least becoming less rigid from the 90s. David Nirenberg's *Communities of Violence* (1996) reassessed ideas of medieval intolerance, accusing previous interpretations, primarily those of Moore and his followers, for being too structuralist while still acknowledging the rise of intolerance from the twelfth century onwards.[24] His work focused on finding individual agency in the Middle Ages, and an emphasis that minorities should not necessarily be considered marginal, since they may live in the centre of society. John V. Tolan followed up his previous work on Islam in medieval Europe with his seminal monograph *Saracens* in 2002. It remains one of the key overviews of the medieval views of Islam, attempting to see it through the eyes of medieval people, rather than modern ones. Tolan in a sense followed Daniel's model in that he still primarily focused on religious discourse, but he dismissed some of Daniel's ahistorical tendencies and Said's *Orientalism*, instead showing the medieval ideas as far more nuanced and varied. Despite being called *Saracens*, the book is actually more focused on views on Islam, rather than on its practitioners, which is the focus on this thesis. Another notable work is *Anglo-Saxon Perceptions of the Islamic World* by Katharine Scarfe Beckett, which used chronicles and religious writing to a greater extent than Metlitzki had. In doing this Beckett showed how ancient authorities, such as the early church fathers, had a great impact on Anglo-Saxon writing on the distant Islamic world.[25] She also criticised Said's notions of medieval Orientalism and showed that they were in fact not applicable to early medieval England.[26]

[24] David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence* (Princeton, 1996), pp.4-10.
[25] Beckett, *Anglo-Saxon Perceptions of the Islamic World*, pp.223-224.
[26] Beckett, Anglo-Saxon Perceptions of the Islamic World, pp.230-239.

Criticism of Said has been more frequent in the work by literary scholars, and this is where the representations of actual Muslims came into docus, and both gender and race were explored in romances rather than religious text. Central to the topic of this thesis is Louise Mirrer's *Women, Jews, and Muslims in the Texts of Reconquest Castile* (1996), which analysed the relationships between ethnicity and gender in medieval Castilian literature, emphasising representations of masculinity. While there are issues with the way she used her sources, however, it was the first attempt to do something which resembles the approach of this thesis.[27] While the criticism of her work is valid, notably against her idea of the 'amigo', the trope of friendly Moorish man whose lack in violence was connected to lacking masculinity, ideas resembling this can perhaps be found outside of the Iberian Peninsula, and will be discussed in relation to portrayals of Saracen allies in the Kingdom of Jerusalem in Chapter Five. A more nuanced work compared to Mirrer's was produced by Jaqueline de Weever a couple of years later, more specifically dealing with Muslim women in French literature.[28] It looked at Saracen women as women on the boundary in romances, whose growing portrayal in the crusading era showed them as outsiders, but who could enter the Christian sphere, notably through marriage to Christian knights. This places them in a liminal place, and their choosing the Christian world was on one hand a success, but also came with anxiety since they retained their cultural heritage, remaining liminal. Saracen women could also be portrayed as a grotesque, and there was usually an element of skin colour involved regarding which category they belonged to. This was followed by another volume on similar issues in 2001 by Lynn Tarte Ramey, emphasising the growth of the importance of cross-cultural romance in literature which developed alongside the

[27] Jane Whetnall, 'Women, Jews, and Muslims in the Texts of Reconquest Castile by Louise Mirrer', in *The Modern Language Review*, 93:2 (1998), pp.536-538.
[28] Jacqueline De Weever, *Sheba's Daughters: Whitening and Demonizing the Saracen Woman in Medieval French Epic* (London, 1998).

crusading movement as a different way of exploring cultural contact.[29] She also saw a decline in this theme from the fifteenth century, when the growth of internal Christian conflict started receiving more attention, shifting the anxieties elsewhere. These are both excellent examples of how gender theory was combined with the growing interest of representations of the outside world in literary studies, and their work has had an important impact on the field. They do, however, show that even if there was change over time, the portrayal of Saracens in the romances were quite formulaic with the reliance on tropes. Their influence goes beyond literary scholars to those focusing on different sources, notably Alexandra Cuffel's 2007 book on gender and disgust in religious polemic. Cuffel not only made progress in terms of the study of polemics and gender, but because she used material from all three Abrahamic religions in the same period, her book achieved a greater level of cultural intersectionality than most.[30] In doing this she showed that polemics from all three faiths were not only heavily gendered in their writings, but also relied heavily on the idea of filth in the portrayals of the other religions. In terms of gender studies it should also be noted that it was really in the same period, the early twenty-first century, that there was more analytical attention given to issues of gender in Islam, such as the role of women in medieval Islam, and there are a couple of volumes on masculinity in the modern Islamic world.[31] There have also been several volumes on Islamic sexuality, based on legal

[29] Lynn Tarte Ramey, *Christian, Saracen and Genre in Medieval French Literature* (London, 2001).
[30] Alexandra Cuffel, *Gendering Disgust in Medieval Religious Polemic* (Notre Dame, 2007).
[31] Gavin R.G. Hambly (ed.), *Women in the Medieval Islamic World: Power, Patronage, and Piety* (New York, 1998); Mai Ghoussoub and Emma Sinclair-Webb (eds.), *Imagined Masculinities: Male Identity and Culture in the Modern Middle East* (London, 2000); Shirley Guthrie, *Arab Women in the Middle Ages: Private Lives and Public Roles* (London, 2001); Yossef Rapoport, *Marriage, Money and Divorce in Medieval Islamic Society* (Cambridge, 2005); R. Stephen Humphreys, 'The Historiography of the Modern Middle East: Transforming a Field of Study', in *Middle East Historiographies*, ed. Israel Gershoni, Amy Singer and Y. Hakan Erdem (Seattle, 2006), pp.26-28; Marilyn Booth, 'On Gender, History,… and Fiction', in *Middle East Historiographies*, ed. Gershoni, Singer and Erdem, pp.211-212 and 221-222; Lahoucine Ouzgane (ed.), *Islamic Masculinities* (New York, 2006).

and medical writing, as well as literature, which has touched on views of sex-positivity and homosexuality in the Islamic world.[32] This emphasis on homosexuality in the Islamic compared to the Christian world has, however, been criticised.[33]

In terms of representations of Muslims which emphasised ethnicity instead of gender, Jeffrey Jerome Cohen produced an important article in which he analysed Saracens in literature from the perspective of medieval ideas of race and monster theory, which has remained important in the field.[34] This looked at the portrayal of Saracen enjoyment in medieval romances, showing it as grotesque and excessive as a way of othering. These ideas have also been used in art history, notably by Debra Strickland who published a book on representations of Muslims, Jews and other outsiders, which dealt with the same ideas in visual sources.[35] While she made a choice to not use the term 'other', since she only wanted to deal with two of the groups of medieval 'others' she showed how both groups were frequently portrayed as monstrous in medieval art. These works ave remained important, and it is indisputable that Muslims were depicted as monstrous in medieval art and romances. Chapter Five will look at the same ideas in chronicles, where the same conclusions are more difficult to apply. In 2009 Suzanne Conklin Akbari published her excellent book, *Idols in the East*, in which she both dealt with depictions of the Orient as a space, the issues with discussing this for the Middle Ages since the North was considered

[32] Stephen O. Murray and Will Roscoe (eds.), *Islamic Homosexualities: Culture, History, and Literature* (New York, 1997); Adbelwahab Bouhdiba, *Sexuality in Islam* (Croydon, 2004); Kathryn Babayan and Afsaneh Najmabadi (eds.), *Islamicate Sexualities: Translations across Temporal Geographies of Desire* (Cambridge, 2008).
[33] Susan Schibanoff, 'Mohammed, Courtly Love, and the Myth of Western Heterosexuality', in *Medieval Feminist Forum: Journal of the Society of Medieval Feminist Scholarship*, 16 (1993); Gregory S. Hutcheson, 'The Sodomitic Moor: Queerness in the Narrative of *Reconquista*' in *Queering the Middle Ages*, eds. Glenn Burger, and Steven F. Kruger (London, 2001).
[34] Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, 'On Saracen Enjoyment: Some Fantasies of Race in Late Medieval France and England', in *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 31:1 (2001).
[35] Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons & Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton, 2003).

just as peripheral, and also representations of Muslims in romances. In her section on gendered representation she even included a small section on the male Saracen body in French literature.[36] She used both the ideas of gender as presented by de Weever and Ramey, and the idea of monstrosity presented by Cohen to portray a multifaceted image on the Saracen in medieval romances as liminal in terms of gender and ethnicity. Because it was taking a more intersectional approach it was perhaps more successful in bringing together the ideas proposed by her predecessors which were more tied to a specific model of analysis. For this reason this study can be seen as posing many of the same questions that this thesis is, however, using a different basis for the sources. The issue of representations has on the whole been more in the field of literature than in the field of history. A notable work that touches on it from a historical perspective is Brian A. Catlos' *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom, c.1050–1614*, which is a broad study looking at ~~the~~ Muslim minorities within the borders of Latin Christendom.[37] The study spans a geographic area as wide as this thesis, and a lot more time, and manages to cover a wide range of issues. There is a little bit on representations, but the primary focus is on the real political developments. On the whole there is still little work on representations of Muslims on a greater scale from a historical, rather than literary perspectives. While these works have clearly impacted each other through developments in academia, there are also those that had more of an external influence, which also impact this thesis.

While many academics have decided not to engage with them, the impact of the events of 9/11 cannot be exaggerated, within or outside of academia, and has brought the medieval past into modern debates about Christian-Muslims relations. President George

[36] Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100-1450* (Ithaca, 2009), pp.159-173.
[37] Brian A. Catlos, *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom, c.1050–1614* (Cambridge, 2014).

W. Bush called the conflict following on from the terrorist attack a crusade and some academics had similar responses. One example is Thomas Madden, who in response to the attacks claimed that it was Islamic aggression just as in the Middle Ages, but most historians disagree with this interpretation.[38] The trend to characterise the Islamic world as medieval has been strengthened by the rise of Daesh (ISIS) in more recent years, and they have been described as 'medieval' in media and by other politicians.[39] The academic world has not always been willing to respond to this, with a few exceptions, and at least one editorial written by David M. Perry, now associated with the University of Minnesota, strongly rebuking any medieval connection to modern political Islam under Daesh.[40] Others have decided to be open about how their medieval research interest has been drawn on these modern contexts. This is perhaps most clearly seen in Geraldine Heng's early mention of a connection between the medieval relationships between Christianity and Islam, and those in the post-9/11 world, while denying the ongoing 'clash of civilization' narrative that has been popular since the mid-90s.[41] There certainly has been an increase in attention to the field, which can perhaps be connected to this contemporary development, especially

[38] Marcus Bull, *Thinking Medieval: an Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages* (Basingstoke, 2005), pp.120-131; Kurt Villads Jensen, 'Cultural Encounters and Clash of Civilizations. Huntington and Modern Crusading Studies', in *Cultural Encounters during the Crusades*, ed. Kurt Villads Jensen, Kirsi Salonen and Helle Vogt (Odense, 2013) pp.19-20.
[39] David Carr, 'With Videos of Killings, ISIS Sends Medieval Message by Modern Method', in *The New York Times* (7 September, 2014), [http://www.nytimes.com/2014/09/08/business/media/with-videos-of-killings-isis-hones-social-media-as-a-weapon.html?_r=1]; Brett Logiurato, 'JOHN KERRY: ISIS' Beheading of Steven Sotloff was an 'Act of Medieval Savagery', in *Business Insider* (3 September 2014), [http://www.businessinsider.com/john-kerry-on-steven-sotloffs-killing-by-isis-2014-9], and many more.
[40] David M. Perry, 'This is not the Crusades: There's nothing medieval about ISIS', in *CNN* (16 October 2016), [https://edition.cnn.com/2016/10/16/opinions/nothing-medieval-about-isis-perry/index.html] (last accessed 2 May 2018).
[41] Samuel P. Huntington (ed.), *The Clash of Civilizations? The Debate* (New York, 1996); Geraldine Heng, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York, 2003), pp.12-14.

concerning the relationship between crusaders and Muslims.[42] The excellent edited volume, *Cultural Encounters during the Crusades* (2013)~~,~~ shows several examples of contributors dealing with medieval ideas of representation and tolerance outside of *chansons de geste*, while openly grounding their research questions in the post-9/11 world.[43] This is something that does come to mind when considering the topic of this thesis, since as seen representations of Islam and Muslims today often borrows from medievalist ideas, that might not actually have much to do with the actual medieval past. These ideas should not be applied to the Middle Ages themselves, but may influence the question we need to ask from the sources.

Not all of the current scholarship is as nuanced. There as those, like Bernard Lewis, whose ideas have been more similar to the modern medievalist anti-Islamic rhetoric of the modern political right, viewing the ideas of Islam as inherently regressive. That Bernard Lewis makes an appearance here is from a historiographical context unsurprising, since he was one of the scholars criticised already in Said's *Orientalism*, and he remained critical of Islamic civilization until his death in May 2018.[44] There are also those who have had the complete opposite response and turned apologists. In 2014 Hussain Othman published an article with *World Journal of Islamic History and Civilization*, which, while well researched, based itself on modern concepts of Islamophobia and intolerance, claiming that the Papacy

[42] Margaret Jubb, 'The Crusaders' Perceptions of their Opponents', in *Palgrave Advances in the Crusades*, ed. Helen J. Nicholson (Basingstoke, 2005), Susanna Throop, 'Combat and Conversion: Interfaith Dialogue in Twelfth-Century Crusading Narratives', in *Medieval Encounters: Jewish, Christian and Muslim Culture in Confluence and Dialogue*, 12:2 (2006); Thomas S. Asbridge, 'Knowing the Enemy: Latin Relations with Islam at the Time of the First Crusade', in *Knighthoods of Christ: Essays on the History of the Crusades and the Knights Templar, Presented to Malcolm Barber*, ed. Norman Housley (Aldershot, 2007).

[43] Kurt Villads Jensen, Kirsi Salonen and Helle Vogt (eds.), *Cultural Encounters during the Crusades* (Odense, 2013).

[44] Said, *Orientalism*, pp.315-321. This was followed by a public debate by Lewis and Said in *The New York Review of Books* in 1982.

was deliberately sowing the seeds of Islamophobia in the First Crusade.[45] Although Urban II had clearly negative sentiments towards Islam, the way this is framed by Othman draws direct parallels to modern representations of the Islamic world in the West, in a way that is ahistorical. Similar problems can be found in Sophia Rose Arjana's *Muslims in the Western Imagination* (2015). The book focusses on monstrous depictions on a superficial level, drawing direct connections between medieval monster lore and contemporary representations, with the final chapter even being called 'The Monsters of September 11'.[46] Beyond these specific examples, Robert Spencer has noted that the post-9/11 context has increased criticism again of Said, especially in the U.S.[47] What these examples show is that we are living in a world still very much influenced by 9/11 and, while the context has changed, Islamo-Christian relations are still on the agenda. This has influenced scholarship since these topics can get uncomfortably connected to contemporary issues. However, it must be possible to touch on uncomfortable subjects without being too ingrained in the modern and losing academic rigour. By using the ideas of representation of gender, ethnicity and religion from literary historians applied to various geographic spaces to show the plurality of medieval experiences, and by asking questions that the modern world show us that we need to ask of the sources without taking the present with us to the past, this will hopefully be achieved. This thesis aims to have an impact on the overall view of the Middle Ages, bringing in new understandings of the medieval world as one of pluralism, and allowing us to draw better conclusions about the past. While it will not look at every single aspect of the relationship between Christians and Muslims, but focusing in on the

[45] Hussein Othman, 'Islamophobia, the First Crusade and the Expansion of Christendom to Islamic World', *World Journal of Islamic History and Civilization*, 4:3 (2014), pp.89-106.
[46] Sophia Rose Arjana, *Muslims in the Western Imagination* (New York, 2015), p.165.
[47] Robert Spencer, 'The 'War on Terror' and the Backlash against *Orientalism*', in *Debating* Orientalism, ed. Ziad Elmarsafy, Anna Bernard and David Atwell (Basingstoke, 2013), pp.155-174.

representation of Muslim men, many of these questions can be integrated, and it allows us to look at Muslims in the many different roles that previous scholarship has shown that they can exist in, be it enemies, monsters or friends.

Methodology

This project concerns representations of Muslim men in the Central Middle Ages, viewed through the lenses of gender, ethnicity and religion. The latter aspects are equally important, and closely interlinked, but are connected with different areas of historiography. Representations, how something or someone was presented in the sources, do not always reflect the lived lives of Muslim men, but they reveal how the authors of the texts viewed their surrounding world and formed their concepts of identity. An example of how this will be used is looking at the rulers of Zaragoza, allies of the Spanish national hero El Cid, who played a large part of the medieval chronicle about El Cid. Their portrayal was shaped by their ethnicity and religion, that they were Muslim, but also by the fact that they were men. How these aspects are portrayed would have been impacted by the ideas of gender, ethnicity and religion of the author, and the general culture the work was produced in. Since the Muslims here were inherently 'other' to the author it can also tell us different things than looking at how the source treats its Christian protagonist. Another aspect that could be added is that of class, but since the majority of the Muslims portrayed are those of the aristocratic ruling classes, like the Christians depicted, the men not fitting into these classes will be examined separately. In terms of race and ethnicity, it should be noted that medieval ideas of divisions of people were different from modern ideas. While it has been argued that there was an increase in intolerance from the twelfth century, actual

concepts of race and racism were centuries away, and colonial race theories that laid the foundation of modern racism even further away.[48] This means that when reading ethnicity and race in the Middle Ages, instead of trying to search for modern concepts, we must analyse medieval concepts, but also remember that medieval identities, just like modern ones, were constantly shifting, with multiple identities existing at the same times. There were regional differences, but also within the same region there might be various ways in which identities were conceptualised. While modern works on identities may be consulted for a theoretical framework, it is also important to leave the specific ideas presented in these behind, so as not to try and fit the same concepts onto a very different world. The sources have enough to say themselves. Instead of involving modern concepts of race and ethnicity, and the appropriateness of either term, there are medieval concepts to be used, such as '*gens*' that can provide us with the terminology we need without grounding ourselves in modern concepts. According to the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, '*gens*' can be translated as race, nation, class, people or followers, sometimes indicating gentiles or specifically non-Christian people. This is a concept that incorporated place of birth, religion, law, and customs, making it wider in scope than simply race, ethnicity or religion. The growth of identity has been seen as linked with the rise of intolerance. This was initially linked with the landed aristocracy increasing in power, but

[48] Robert Bartlett, 'Medieval and Modern Concepts of Race and Ethnicity', in *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 31:1 (2001); Thomas Hahn, 'The Difference the Middle Ages Make: Color and Race before the Modern World', in *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 31:1 (2001), pp.4-9; Charles de Miramon, 'Noble Dogs, Noble Blood: The Invention of the Concept of Race in the Late Middle Ages', *The Origins of Racism in the West*, eds. Miriam Eliav-Feldon, Benjamin Isaac and Joseph Ziegler (Cambridge, 2009), pp.200 and 215-216; David Nirenberg, 'Was there Race before Modernity? The Example of 'Jewish' Blood in Late Medieval Spain', *The Origins of Racism in the West*, eds. Miriam Eliav-Feldon, Benjamin Isaac and Joseph Ziegler (Cambridge, 2009), pp.232-264; Geraldine Heng, 'Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages I: Race Studies, Modernity, and the Middle Ages', *Literature Compass*, 8:5 (2011), pp.315-331; Geraldine Heng, 'Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages II: Locations of Medieval Race', *Literature Compass*, 8:5 (2011), pp.332-350; Stephen Harris, 'Race and Ethnicity', *A Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Studies*, ed. Jacqueline Stodnick and Renée R. Trilling (Oxford, 2012), pp.173-177.

more recently scholars connected this development either with the growth of the individual in the twelfth century, or to a growth of a sense of Europe, under the umbrella of Latin Christianity.[49] There were a lot of developments during the twelfth century in terms of concepts of identity and the views of the outside world.

In order to study the Latin Christians' representations of Muslims without accidentally getting caught up in modern ideas about clashes of civilizations, it is important to learn from studies of medieval postcolonialism. Edward Said focused on how the Orient, primarily the Islamic world, had been represented in the West, seeing continuity from the Middle Ages until the modern day. This view, of Orientalism being present already in the Middle Ages in a similar form, has, however, been contested by medieval historians and literary scholars, since the ideas and preconceptions that existed were quite different.[50] Also, the very idea of the Orient only started to emerge in the later part of the Central Middle Ages, and the modern idea of Orientalism developed even later.[51] This does not mean that postcolonial theory itself is irrelevant when working on these questions. On the contrary, postcolonialism has developed immensely after Said and is essential for understanding the Middle Ages. One thing postcolonial studies has done for the study of

[49] Moore, *Formation of a Persecuting Society*; Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*; David R. Blanks and Michael Frassetto, 'Introduction' in *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. David R. Blanks and Michael Frassetto (Basingstoke, 1999), pp.1-4; Ramey, *Christian, Saracen and Genre*, p.2; Albrecht Classen, 'Introduction: The Self, the Other, and Everything in Between: Xenological Phenomenology of the Middle Ages', in *Meeting the Foreign in the Middle Ages*, ed. Albrecht Classen (New York, 2002), pp.xi-xii; David R. Blanks, 'Islam and the West in the Age of the Pilgrim', in *The Year 1000: Religious and Social Response to the Turning of the First Millennium*, ed. Michael Frassetto (Basingstoke, 2002), p.264.

[50] Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (ed.), *The Postcolonial Middle Ages* (New York, 2000); Bartlett, 'Medieval and Modern Concepts of Race and Ethnicity'; Albrecht Classen (ed.), *Meeting the Foreign in the Middle Ages* (New York, 2002); Patricia Clare Ingham and Michelle R. Warren (eds.), *Postcolonial Moves: Medieval Through Modern* (Basingstoke, 2003); Ananya Jahanara Kabir and Deanne Williams (eds.), *Postcolonial Approaches to the European Middle Ages: Translating Cultures* (Cambridge, 2005).

[51] Akbari, *Idols in the East*, pp.20-66.

medieval history is highlight how we need to reconsider how we conceptualise ideas of borders, races and cultures, rather than assuming modern concepts, or writing history from the benefit of hindsight.[52] Also from postcolonial studies is the idea of the Other. This is a Lacanian concept: in order to create a Self, there needs to be an Other to know what the Self is not. For example, in *Orientalism* Said used this concept to construct the East as the Other for the West.[53] The foreign has often been seen as monstrous and disgusting, but that is not the only aspect.[54] The idea of the Other can also be linked to both de-humanisation in forms of hypermasculine barbarity, especially in the modern colonial context, and effeminising.[55] This means that to truly understand the representations of Muslim men in the medieval text, one also has to look at gender because of these ideas being so closely tied.

It should also be noted that this thesis is focused on Muslim men rather than women for several different reasons. Firstly, as seen in the historiography of representations of Muslims in terms of gender has primarily been focused on women. While this has to some degree ben to access women in the sources, since men tend to be the focal points of medieval sources it is a very useful framework, and it should not be forgotten that men are gendered to the same degree. To not look at men through a

[52] Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, 'Introduction: Midcolonial', in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (New York, 2000), pp.6-7; Patricia Clare Ingham and Michelle R. Warren, 'Introduction: Postcolonial Modernity and the Rest of History', in *Postcolonial Moves*, p.13.
[53] Classen, 'Introduction', p.xi.
[54] Anna Abulafia, 'Bodies in the Jewish-Christian Debate', in *Framing Medieval Bodies*, ed. Sarah Kay and Miri Rubin (Manchester, 1994), pp.129-130; Michael Uebel, 'Unthinking the Monster: Twelfth-Century Responses to Saracen Alterity', in *Monster Theory: Reading Culture*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (Minneapolis, 1996), p.274; Cohen, 'On Saracen Enjoyment', pp.119-120; Classen, 'Introduction', p.12; Strickland, *Saracens, Demons & Jews*, pp.29-30.
[55] Steven F. Kruger, 'Racial/Religious and Sexual Queerness in the Middle Ages', in *Medieval Feminist Newsletter*, 16 (1993), p.33; Kwok Pui-lan, 'Unbinding Our Feet: Saving Brown Women and Feminist Religious Discourse', in *Postcolonialism, Feminism & Religious Discourse*, edited by Laura E. Donaldson and Kwok Pui-lan (New York, 2002), p.65.

gendered lens would be to accept men as the norm. Secondly, the sources that will be used here are chronicles, and since these are often focused on warfare men tend to play the central role. That does not mean that the way women play into these representations will be ignored. Treatment of women and in turn how women played in to cross-cultural interactions were central for the formation of masculinity, both among Christians and their representations of 'others'. In this, the links between gender, race and ethnicity will remain in the foreground.

Intersectionality, the concept that marginalising concepts like gender, ethnicity and class should be studied together and how they interact was introduced by Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989, and has remained an important aspect of gender studies.[56] Following on from this, Patricia Hill Collins presented the idea of the 'Matrix of Domination' to explain how ideas of gender, class, and race are interconnected when working to oppress marginalised groups.[57] These concepts have been important for the aforementioned literary studies on medieval representations of medieval women, as well as some of the already discussed studies on polemic, and they will remain so here. As described above, what will be considered is how the medieval ideas of gender and in terms of *gens* impacted the portrayal of Muslim men, who were 'others' to the sources used, and how these different concepts worked not separate from each other, but together. The difference from the works described above is that the group examined belonged to the dominant gender, but subordinate in terms of ethnicity or religion. This means that there are clear differences in how Muslim men and women were portrayed despite their joint *gens*. The ideals of Latin

[56] Kimberlé Crenshaw, 'Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics', *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 1 (1989), pp.139-167.
[57] Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (London, 1990), pp.225-230.

men were often applied to Muslim men in the texts, but their ability and means to fulfil them depended on their status as Saracens. It should also be noted that the idea of the Matrix of Domination was created to illustrate how women of colour are punished by society on multiple levels, through race, class and gender, creating oppression from various angles and exacerbating their situation. While similar concepts can be applied to the Middle Ages, it should also be remembered that while Muslim women are shown with less agency and power in the sources, they were more likely to be portrayed as innocents. One example is a pregnant Muslim woman saved by one of the kings of Jerusalem which will be discussed in Chapter Five. Also, the Muslim women might have been victimised further, but because of the men's role as warriors in chronicles which focused on warfare their bodies were more often the target of violent acts. Again, the importance is that awareness of these modern concepts should not mean that we draw the same conclusions from the medieval texts, but awareness of ideas such as gender or *gens* means that we might expand our understanding of them from the medieval cultural context.

There are a few volumes produced on medieval masculinity focusing on various issues that can be used as background to this study, and modern writing about masculinity can also be revealing as long as consideration is taken to not apply modern sensibilities onto the medieval past.[58] One of these notions, the idea of multiple masculinities is important regardless of what period is being studied. Not all men were expected to follow the norms of knights, and other groups, such as the clergy, could be considered just as

[58] Clare A. Lees (ed.), *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages* (Minneapolis, 1994); Dawn M. Hadley (ed.), *Masculinity in Medieval Europe* (Harlow, 1999); Jaqueline Murray (ed.), *Conflicted Identities and Multiple Masculinites: Men in the Medieval West* (London, 1999); Jeffrey Jerome Cohen and Bonnie Wheeler (eds.), *Becoming Male in the Middle Ages* (London, 2000); Ruth Mazo Karras, *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia, 2003).

masculine, even if their displays were very different. Norms of masculinity, and how they were performed, means that social backgrounds also have to be considered. Medieval European men were not a uniform group, and expressions of masculinity varied depending on the social group to which they belonged, although there are some general applicable points, such as the fact that the masculine ideal in the medieval Latin world involved ideas of rationality and dominance.[59] There is also a recurring theme in modern scholarship that suggests womanhood was rooted in the physical and material, manhood was more based in the spiritual or mental, with performance and strength, and the idea of acting like a man more central.[60] Some historians have argued that this carnal/spiritual opposition was applied to Christians and Muslims in the Middle Ages, with the Muslims being the more carnal, and through that possibly effeminised.[61] This can be debated but the point puts a useful emphasis on gendered performance.

With the perceived roots of modern European society in the Middle Ages focused on England and France, it is easy to lose track of what actual medieval ideas of society and people were, and that there was great diversity in medieval society. Muslim men were just as diverse, but how they were represented in the Latin context was often a direct reflection of Latin society. Most of the Muslim men who appear in the narrative sources, chronicles,

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[59] Vern Bullough, 'On Being Male in the Middle Ages', in *Medieval Masculinities*, ed. Clare A. Lees (Minneapolis, 1994); Dawn M. Hadley, 'Introduction: Medieval Masculinity', in *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, *Europe*, ed. Dawn M. Hadley (Harlow, 1999); P.H. Cullum, 'Clergy, Masculinity and Transgression in Late Medieval England', in *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, ed. Dawn M. Hadley (Harlow, 1999); Karras, *From Boys to Men*, pp.10-11.

[60] Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (London, 1987), pp.262-263; David D. Gilmore, *Manhood in the Making: Cultural Concepts of Masculinity* (New Haven, 1990), pp.10-14; Sarah Kay, 'Women's Body of Knowledge: Epistemology and Misogyny in the *Romance of the Rose*', in *Framing Medieval Bodies*, ed. Sarah Kay and Miri Rubin (Manchester, 1994), p.211.

[61] Daniel, *Islam and the West*, pp.148-149; Steven F. Kruger, 'Conversion and Medieval Sexual, Religious, and Racial Categories', in *Constructing Medieval Sexuality*, ed. Karma Lochrie, Peggy McCracken and James A. Schultz (Minneapolis, 1997), p.161.

romances, hagiographies, ~~y or~~ and polemical tracts were members of the military aristocracy. In the medieval West, martial prowess was an important way to prove manhood, and many people have shown that similar ideals existed among Muslim men, and even that they have been used as the ultimate enemy in literature.[62] This could make the Saracen man a positive or negative example, or simply a target for the outlet of Christian military masculinity.[63] Historians of monster theory have found that even in that type of source there is a variety of expressions in how Muslim men were represented, and that should also be expected when studying less fantastical sources.[64]

Norman Daniel might have argued that romances were vulgar and lacking in truth, but they have been shown to contain a great deal of historical information. However, genre does have an impact on how its content is presented. Romances were often produced in a similar context to chronicles and histories, and there was overlap between the genres.[65] The means of expression could, however, be different. Medieval romance is a big and sprawling genre, including courtly romances, chivalric adventures and tales of good and evil, while chronicles and histories are examples of historical writing, meaning that they were at least meant to be based in reality.[66] Chronicles increased greatly in popularity during the twelfth century, and were often used for entertainment purposes, even if their audience tended on the whole be of a slightly higher status, while romances had a greater

[62] Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens*, p.32; Strickland, *Saracens, Demons & Jews*, pp.181-182; Sini Kangas, 'First in Prowess and Faith. The Great Encounter in Twelfth-Century Crusader Narratives', in *Cultural Encounters during the Crusades*, ed. Kurt Villads Jensen, Kirsi Salonen and Helle Vogt (Odense, 2013), pp.119-131.
[63] Hadley, 'Introduction', p.11.
[64] John Block Friedman, *The Monstrous Race in Medieval Art and Thought* (Cambridge, 1981); Uebel, 'Unthinking the Monster'; De Weever, *Sheba's Daughters*; Shirin A. Khanmohamadi, *In Light of Another's Word: European Ethnography in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 2014), p.145.
[65] Matthew Kempshall, *Rhetoric and the Writing of History, 400-1500* (Manchester 2011), pp.432-441.
[66] Tony Davenport, *Medieval Narrative: an Introduction* (Oxford, 2004), p.130; Kempshall, *Rhetoric and the Writing of History*, p.442.

spread in terms of class of their audience.[67] Romances might have been explicitly written as entertainment, but that did not mean that chronicles were only written as dry information and it can be difficult at points to draw a line between the two.[68] While romances were works of entertainment, chronicles were also about revealing and educating, telling the stories of the great deeds of the people they concerned themselves with. It was essentially mythmaking, blurring the lines between reality and fictions in order to present an idealised version of history according to the author, often for a specific purpose other than mere amusement. Laura Ashe has used the example of Jordan Fantsome's chronicle on the civil war between Henry II of England and his sons in the 1170's, written as Henry II was his patron to exemplify some of these points. The chronicle was not only concerned with retelling the historical past, but rather using history to shape the new idea of what it meant to be English in his own time, and using the enemy French as foreign enemies to combat the just English knights.[69] While she does not go deeper into ideas of gender, it is clear that the chronicle was used as a vehicle to create a myth about the very recent past, to not only reflect the present but ideals about the future. The idea that chronicles were used as part of mythmaking, more so than the romances, and while using tropes, not as constrained by them, chronicles become a critical source of understanding how medieval people viewed their world and the people who lived in it. Some of the tropes and ideas may have been borrowed from the romances, and some of the authors clearly referenced the Bible or medieval religious writing, but as a genre the focus was always on the historical writing of

[67] Nancy Partner, *Serious Entertainment: The Writing of History in Twelfth-Century England* (London, 1977), pp.195-199; G.T. Shepherd, 'The Emancipation of Story in the Twelfth Century', in *Medieval Narrative: a Symposium*, eds. Hans Bekker-Nielsen, Petter Foote, Andreas Haarder and Preben Meulengracht Sørensen (Odense, 1979). pp. 44-57; Davenport, *Medieval Narrative*, pp.99-100.
[68] Robert M. Stein, *Reality Fictions: Romance, History and Governmental Aurthority, 1025-1180* (Notre Dame, 2006), pp.105-108.
[69] Laura Ashe, *Fiction and History in England, 1066-1200* (Cambridge, 2007), pp.81-120.

great deeds, blurring the line between myth and reality but never ignoring the link between the two.

As noted previously, Saracen men and women in romances have received a lot more attention than their counterparts in chronicles, at least in terms of representations. This makes the chronicles a goldmine of examples that has yet been put into focus, and that is what will be attempted here. Also, in order not to fall into the same pitfalls as previous historians a comparative approach will be taken, looking at sources from three primary regions: the Iberian Peninsula, Norman Kingdom of Sicily, and Kingdom of Jerusalem. The reason for this is that unlike focusing solely on one source, which many articles do, using a variety of sources shows that there were numerous ways in which Muslim men could be portrayed. As discussed above, identities were not fixed, and changed over time and place, and using sources from different regions, and different points in time from the limits of this thesis can reveal these differing and shifting views. The sources, which will be discussed in the following chapter, have been chosen to fulfil this fuction, and have been selected so that they can be compared and contrasted. They are all, as chronicles often are, to a great extent focused on warfare, both the battles and the politics surrounding war. These conflicts often meant that the Muslim men were portrayed as enemy combatants or allies, althought this was not always the case, meaning that the context and actors in the sources are reasonably comparable. There are exceptions, such as the eunuchs of Norman Sicily, which will be examined separately in Chapter Six. The three primary regions either bordered on or had large Muslim populations, so for a final point of contrast crusader chronicles from France and Germany will be used. This thesis will also explore in what ways Saracen men are depicted in these regions and how they perform

masculinity, how this compares to the ideals of Christian men, and how the two religious groups interacted across cultural lines.

The topic and geographic spread of this thesis is large, therefore Chapter One will attempt to give a quick survey of the context in these different regions, and the sources that will be used from them. Chapter Two will concern the identifications of Muslims in the text, and what terms were used to describe them. Thus far the terms Muslim and Saracens have been used alternatively, with Muslim being the contemporary word, used by Muslims themselves, and Saracen the more common medieval term. From this point, because this thesis concerns how medieval Latin people viewed Muslims, rather than how they viewed themselves, the term Saracen will be used. As will be seen this is not the only term that could be used, but it is the closest thing to an umbrella term for Muslims that existed in the Latin West. The terminology used is also the first step in identifying the Muslims, and what terms were used is also a first indication in how the author viewed them. Chapter Three to Chapter Six will concern different ways in which the Saracen men were represented in the sources in terms of performance, depictions and relationships. Chapter Three will consider Saracen men as valiant enemies and discuss the role of Saracens as mirrors of Latin knights, and perhaps even role models. Opposite to this, Chapter Four will look at violence when linked to monstrosity. While actions by monstrous Saracens are, of course, an important part of this, the times when Christians used extreme violence against Saracens, and how this impacted how they were represented will also be considered. Chapter Five will move away from depictions of Saracens as enemies, and instead focus on alliances and friendships, and the different implications of this depending on the location of the author. Relationships between men were central to medieval society, and although the medieval romances showed heterosexual relationships as important, I will argue, like previous

historians, that it was to other men that manhood had to be displayed.[70] Friendships and alliances also had components of masculine display, and since alliances did occur between Christians and Muslims how this was performed needs examination. Alliances and friendships could also indicate mutual understandings of loyalty, which was central, especially since even formal relationships were personal in the Middle Ages and framed in terms of family bonds.[71] Another aspect of alliances is conversion and baptism, which has also been linked to issues of gender, even if Christians and Saracens were depicted as co-operating without conversion.[72] This also leads into Chapter Six, which will concern Saracens as servants, particularly eunuchs, how they were viewed in terms of masculinity, and discuss their role as crypto-Saracens, those who had falsely converted to Christianity. With this variety of Saracen men, from various regions, a full picture should be able to be formed, showing the great diversity in views and representations of Saracen men.

[70] Matthew Bennett, 'Military Masculinity in England and Northern France c.1050-c.1225', in *Masculinity in Medieval Europe* ed. Dawn M. Hadley (Harlow, 1999); M.J. Ailes, 'The Medieval Male Couple and the Language of Homosociality', in *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, ed. Dawn M. Hadley (Harlow, 1999).
[71] Gerd Althoff, *Family, Friends and Followers: Political and Social Bonds in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 2004), pp.1-3 and 160-161.
[72] Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, pp.68-70; Steven F. Kruger, 'Becoming Christian, Becoming Male?', in *Becoming Male in the Middle Ages*, eds. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen and Bonnie Wheeler (London, 2000) pp.26-30; Kruger, 'Conversion and Medieval Sexual, Religious, and Racial Categories'; Cohen, 'On Saracen Enjoyment', p.121; Akbari, *Idols in the East*, pp.4 and 166-167; Kangas, 'First in Prowess and Faith', pp.127-131.

Chapter 1. Writing about Saracen Men: Chronicles and their Contexts

Introduction

When embarking on a quest to discover how the Saracen man was represented in the medieval world it is important to first understand the world in which he was represented. This thesis stretches not only over a relatively long ~~span of time~~timespan, but also over many different places, showing how the medieval worlds of Europe were both varied and changing over time. This first chapter will therefore outline the place of the Saracen in twelfth-century Europe and show the nature of the Islamo-Christian relationships in these diverse regions, and provide the necessary background for later chapters. This will also introduce the sources that will be used in the rest of the thesis in their context. The role of the Saracen in the twelfth century varied a lot depending on location, for quite obvious reasons. In France and Germany the Saracen was a faraway foreign enemy. In Iberia he was both a potential enemy and ally. In the Kingdom of Sicily, Saracens were a part of the ruling establishment, separate from the Latin barony, but also members of the majority rural population. In the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the Saracen was inherently alien, but a member of the majority population and the constant enemy. This is made clear in the sources chosen to represent these separate geographies, as will be discussed below. For the three regions with Islamic connections, a short historical overview will also be provided, in order to make sure that the context of the sources is clear. It should be noted that in electing to use chronicles there is an emphasis on warfare, which ignores some of the daily interactions that would be present in for example legal documents. But as this on the topic

of representations, and chronicles, as dicussed in the introduction, are concerned with an idealised portrayal of history, these sources are more suitable, and more comparable as they show the commonalities and differences in portrayals of non-Christian enemies and allies. This does not meant that they are identical in how they represent their societies. It will be shown that there is, for example, a lot less hesitance in portraying Muslim allies in the sources from the Iberian Peninsula compared to the other areas, despite them being a factor in the Kingdom of Jerusalem itself. The Sicilian sources show more change over time in terms of this aspect. The chronicles are therefore similar enough that they are comparable, but different enough that they can be used to compare and contrast.[73]

Iberia

The importance of Islamo-Christian relations in the Iberian Peninsula cannot be exaggerated. After the fall of the Roman Empire, Iberia was under the control of the Germanic Visigoths, but they were invaded by the Umayyad Caliphate, coming in from North Africa, in 711, and by the ninth century most of Iberia was under Islamic rule.[74] It should be noted that while the Muslim rulers were primarily Arabic, the actual invasion was not only led, but instigated by the Amazigh (Berber) commander, Tāriq b. Ziyād.[75] This meant that the peninsula was not only divided between Christians and Muslims, there were also internal division on ethnic lines, and it should also be remembered that there

[73] It should be noted that due to the limitations of the author the focus of the scholarship used here will be in English. Scholarship in other languages will only be accessed by reference in these works.
[74] Richard Hitchcock, *Muslim Spain Reconsidered: From 711 to 1502* (Edinburgh, 2014), pp.7-8. Further reading on Visigothic Spain can be found in Roger Collins, *Visigothic Spain 409-711* (Oxford, 2004).
[75] Hitchcock, *Muslim Spain Reconsidered*, pp.12 and 14-17.

was a large Jewish and Basque community on the Peninsula. The Peninsula was still tied to the Middle East until the Umayyad Caliphate ended in 750, and 'Abd al-Rahmān I (d. 788) who ensured continuation of the Umayyad Caliphate in Iberia, where it had been replaced by the 'Abbasid in the rest of the Islamic world. The Islamic rules did, however, not mean that the Christian people disappeared. While the ruling class was Muslim, and there was some migration of Muslims from North Africa, of the Christian majority population some converted and some remained Christian.[76] Notable in this period is the group of educated Christians who assimilated to the Arabic culture while remaining Christians: the Mozarabs. The Mozarabs are fascinating not only because of their liminal status between Christians and Muslims, but also because of their importance in the intellectual developments and intercultural contacts of the period, especially from the eleventh century.[77] They were, however, in the minority, as the vast majority of people were peasants, many of them living as *dhimmi*, non-Muslims who were allowed to keep their faith, but paying additional taxes, *jizya* as a result.

The Christian kingdoms themselves went through a period of weakness, although there were still interesting developments and the formation of new political entities. When the Caliphate of Córdoba collapsed because of its internal struggles in 1031 the Christian kingdoms were dominated by the kingdoms of León and Castile, although the power balance between the two shifted frequently. Their expansion meant that Muslim people were now living under Christian rulers. There was ongoing warfare between Christians and Muslims, but also between Christian kingdoms, and, especially after 1031 fighting between

[76] W. Montgomery Watt and Pierre Cachia, *A History of Islamic Spain* (Edinburgh, 1965), pp.31-32.
[77] Hitchcock, *Muslim Spain Reconsidered*, pp.70-71; Amira K. Bennison, *The Great Caliphs: the Golden Age of the 'Abbasid Empire* (London, 2011) (2nd ed.), pp.205-209; further reading in Richard Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Identities and Influences* (Aldershot, 2008).

Islamic *taifa* states. While typical modern *Reconquista* narratives focus on the frontier between Christianity and Islam as a moving barrier between two civilizations, with the goal being Christian reconquest of the peninsula, in reality the Christians were often just as likely to ally with Muslim lords against their Christian foes as vice versa, with great cultural interchange.[78] The use of *fueros*, settlement charters that were used to consolidate newly conquered Islamic lands into Christian ones, reveal an idea of frontier, but the situation was more complex than a simple border.[79] The ideas of frontiers or border, and *convivencia* are key to how this period can be, and has been understood.

The medieval border was not like how we understand national borders today. Rather than a line on the map which showed where the Christian realm ended and the Islamic began, there was a borderland in which there was both conflict, coexistence and exchange of culture and ideas.[80] While this was a period of supposedly constant struggle between Christians and Muslims, it has been noted that later, when the Reconquista was speeding up even further in the thirteenth centuries it was impossible to tell the difference between the dress of people based on what side of the border they were living on.[81] There has been a great deal of debate on the cultural exchange taking place in Iberia at the time, often through the term *convivencia*. The concept was originally developed to explain the uniqueness of the Spanish national character, but has since been used to look at wider

[78] Eduardo Manzano Moreno, 'Christian-Muslim Frontier in Al-Andalus: Idea and Reality', in *The Arab Influence in Medieval Europe*, ed. Dionisius A. Agius and Richard Hitchcock (Reading, 1994), pp.83-99.
[79] Manuel Gonzáles Jiménez, 'Frontier and Settlement in the Kingdom of Castile (1085-1350), in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, eds. Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay (Oxford, 1989), pp.54-58; Bernard F. Reilly, *The Medieval Spains* (Cambridge, 1993), pp.120-121; Richard Hitchcock, 'Reflections on the Frontier in Early Medieval Iberia', in *The Making of Medieval History*, eds. Graham A. Loud and Martial Staub (Woodbridge, 2017), pp.155-166.
[80] David Abulafia, 'Introduction: Seven Types of Ambiguity, c. 1100-c. 1500' in *Medieval Frontiers, Concepts and Practices*, eds. David Abulafia and Nora Berend, (Aldershot, 2002), p.34.
[81] Angus MacKay, 'Religion, Culture, and Ideology on the Late Medieval Castilian-Granadan Frontier', in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, eds. Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay (Oxford, 1989), p.222.

notions of medieval multiculturalism, specific issues like the transfer of Arabic literary tradition to Europe and, since 9/11 viewed with the idea that cultural exchange came from necessity as a result of the political circumstances.[82] It is clear that the Iberian Peninsula was a complex society, with both violent and peaceful interactions between Christians and Muslims on all levels of society.

Important for the specific sources used here is that after the Caliphate of Córdoba and smaller *taifa* states were formed, with many smaller frontiers being created, this also meant that there was no longer one, strong, Islamic enemy. This both caused an opportunity for the Christian kingdoms to move the inter-religious frontier south, but also the internal Islamic conflicts resulted in a golden age for Spanish mercenaries fighting for Saracen lords, as they did not have large armies on their own.[83] This, however, ended when León-Castile captured the symbolically important Visigothic capital of Toledo in 1085, but it also made some Islamic lords worried enough to call for help, and it did arrive in the form of the Almoravids.[84] The Almoravids were an Amazigh dynasty, based in what is now Morocco, that had been gaining in power for decades, gathering popular support through their religious zeal and lower taxation.[85] They arrived in 1086, sweeping through the peninsula, but after helping the *taifas*, they absorbed them into their own lands until only Zaragoza and Albarracín remained independent in 1095. Zaragoza was finally absorbed by the Almoravids in 1110, but Albarracín managed to remain independent until the late thirteenth century. The arrival of the Almoravids meant a new period of Islamic military

[82] Kenneth Baxter Wolf, 'Convivencia in Medieval Spain: a Brief History of an Idea', in *Religion Compass*, 3.1 (2009), pp. 72-85.
[83] Simon Barton, 'Traitors to the Faith? Christian Mercenaries in al-Andalus and the Maghreb, c. 1100-1300' in *Medieval Spain: Culture, Conflict, and Coexistence. Studies in Honour of Angus MacKay*, ed. Roger Collins and Anthony Goodman (Basinstoke, 2002), pp.26-27.
[84] Reilly, *Medieval Spains*, p.97.
[85] Good introduction can be found in Amira K. Bennison, *The Almoravid and Almohad Empires* (Edinburgh, 2016), pp.24-61.

unity intended to push back the Christians, but they were disliked by most other Muslims, which meant that when they lost their North African power bases because of the rise of a new Amazigh dynasty, the Almohads, their power in Iberia quickly disintegrated.[86]

The eleventh through to the thirteenth centuries were eventful, with rising and falling powers and shifting allegiances. While Christian mercenaries happily fought for Saracen lords, it is also important to note that the increasing religious zeal of the Amazigh dynasties coincided with the development of the crusading movement, and the Iberian front was an important stage for this Christian movement. There was also great cultural exchange between the two sides, showing peaceful interaction. These two distinct perspectives have caused historians to debate the relationship between Christians and Muslims in Iberia as either *Reconquista* or *Convivencia*, framing the relationship as either conflict, or flourishing cultural exchange. In Spain this debate has been tied up in contemporary politics, often resulting in debates over the country's heritage.[87] The reality was probably not simply one or the other, but clearly the presence of and domination by Muslims in the medieval Iberia Peninsula meant that Christian views of Islam and Muslims there were likely different from those further North ~~West~~. There will be no attempts at dealing with the issue of cultural and scientific exchange in this thesis. The concern is rather to tell if there were differences in how Saracens came to be represented in the Iberian context compared to elsewhere, and that will be done in the following chapters. Despite a general growing interest in Islam in the Latin West during the Central Middle Ages, the

[86] Bennison, *The Great Caliphs*, pp.177-187.
[87] Simon R. Doubleday, 'Introduction: "Criminal Non-Intervention": Hispanism, Medievalism, and the Pursuit of Neutrality', in *In the Light of Medieval Spain*, eds. Simon R. Doubleday and David Coleman (Basingstoke, 2008), pp.1-33; Alex Novikoff, 'Between Tolerance and Intolerance in Medieval Spain: An Historiographic Enigma', in *Medieval Encounters*, 11:1-2 (2005); pp.7-36; Maya Soifer, 'Beyond *Convivencia*: Critical Reflections on the Historiography of Interfaith Relations in Christian Spain', in *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies*, 1:1 (2009), pp.19-35.

situation in Iberia developed differently. Since Christians had been living side by side with Muslims for hundreds of years, some of the ideas promoted by writers of religious polemic, and some of the more outlandish ideas from French *chanson de geste*, might have been difficult to export to the Iberian context since there was greater awareness of and interactions with Muslims. There was certainly no lack of Iberian development in the writings on Islam and Muslims in the period. It might, however, in some instances take on a different form. Bearing this in mind, the two main chronicles used here to show the representations of Saracen men are from the mid-twelfth century, but focus on different conflicts and contexts: *Historia Roderici* and *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*. The first of these was focused on the first period of great flux mentioned, the *taifa* period prior to the Almoravid invasion, focusing on one of the Christian mercenaries who managed to use the situation by gaining power using both Christian and Muslim allies. The second is about a the rule of a king with imperial ambitions ruling as the Almoravid empire was falling apart, and the Almohads invaded. He also made use of the political situation, fighting both Christians and Muslims, and also keeping both as allies, but a few decades later. While the time between the two men might not seem overly long, the changing Iberian landscape meant that they were dealing with quite different context, but how Muslims, especially allies, are treated, remains largely similar.

Rodrigo Díaz (d.1099) was born in Vivar near Burgos around 1143, and first became known at the court of Sancho II of Castile, Galicia and León (r.1065-72). León was conquered in 1072 by Sancho's own brother, Alfonso VI of León (r.1065-1109), but shortly after this Sancho was murdered, and Alfonso returned from exile to take over his brother's lands, which he ruled until his death. Rodrigo himself, although he had at least one aristocratic parent, was from a relatively humble background, and probably rose to fame

through a combination of skill and loyalty. While he initially received a fair position at the court of Alfonso VI he soon made enemies and displeased his new king.[88] He was exiled between 1080 and 1087, during which time he worked as an independent mercenary, primarily for the *Taifa* of Zaragoza. After being recalled by Alfonso VI to help against the Almoravid threat, he became more set on his individual conquests, and turned his eye towards Valencia in 1092. By 1094 he had conquered and become the independent ruler of Valencia. He remained in that position until his death in 1099 when the city fell to the Almoravids. That a knight who just as frequently fought for Saracen lords as Christians became the great hero of the *Reconquista* can therefore be explained through his greatest conquest being Saracen Valencia. What is more interesting is that neither of the Latin two accounts about his life follows this narrative of Reconquista heroism, but a thirteenth-century Catalan romance does.

The first accounts about Rodrigo Díaz were both written in Latin. The short Latin *Carmen Campi Doctoris* was produced while Rodrigo Díaz was still alive. It can now be found in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Latin MS 5132), together with two other texts.[89] It was written before the conquest of Valencia in 1094, although scholars disagree on whether it was in 1083 or 1093, as there is a disagreement when the battle of Almenar, referred to in the text, occurred.[90] The poem ends with this battle, fought against Berenguar of Barcelona and his Muslim allies. It was probably written in Catalonia by a

[88] Bernard F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI (1065-1109)* (Princeton, 1988), pp.38 and 129-133; Richard Fletcher, *Quest for El Cid* (London, 1989), pp.107-108, 114-115 and 125.
[89] Roger Wright, 'The First Poem on the Cid – the *Carmen Campi Doctoris*', in *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar, Second Volume 1979*, ed. Francis Cairns (Liverpool, 1979); Fletcher, *Quest for El Cid*, p.92.
[90] A.D. Deyermond, *Epic Poetry and the Clergy: Studies on the "Mocedades de Rodrigo"* (London, 1968), p.3; Brian Powell, *Epic and Chronicle: The 'Poema de mio Cid' and the 'Chrónica de veinte reyes'* (London, 1983), p.9; Fletcher, *Quest for El Cid*, p.93; Wright, 'First Poem on the Cid', p.237.

well-educated clergyman, suggested by his references to both scripture and classical material.[91] More importantly for this thesis, there is the chronicle *Historia Roderici*, produced around fifty years after Rodrigo's death and covering all of his great deeds. The *Historia Roderici* was, like the *Carmen Campi Doctoris*, written in Latin, although most believe by a less educated clergyman, around the year 1150.[92] Today two versions of the source are found at the Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid (A-189 and G-1).[93] But neither of these accounts have gained the fame of that of the already mentioned Catalan epic, *Cantar de Mio Cid*, which is the basis of our modern understanding of Rodrigo Diaz. *Cantar el Mio Cid* focuses on Rodrigo's exploits against the Saracens to redeem himself to Alfonso VI, unlike *Historia Roderici*'s more accurate display of alliances with Muslims. It was probably produced in 1207, although this dating has been under debate.[94] The account was popularised in the 1961 Hollywood epic starring Charlton Heston.[95] The movie is not very historically accurate, despite using the historian Ramón Menéndez Pidal, as it borrowed more from Pidal's nationalist sentiments than his knowledge of medieval Iberia.[96]

Muslims feature heavily in the source, both as allies and as enemies. While *Cantar el Mio Cid* focuses on the relationship between Rodrigo and his Christian king, with one main Saracen ally, the chronicle dedicates a reasonable amount of time to when Rodrigo

[91] Wright, 'First Poem on the Cid', pp.222-225 and 239-240.
[92] Deyermond, *Epic Poetry and the Clergy*, p.3; Powell, *Epic and Chronicle*, pp. 10-12; Fletcher, *Quest for El Cid*, pp.93-95.
[93] Emma Falque, Juan Gil and Antonio Maya, 'Introducción' in *Chronica Hispana Saecvli XII*, eds. Emma Falque, Juan Gil and Antonia Maya (Turnholt, 1990), pp.25-28; Powell, *Epic and Chronicle,* p.10.
[94] Powell, *Epic and Chronicle,* p.3-4 and Fletcher, *The Quest for El Cid*, pp.192-193.
[95] Giles Tremlett, 'Foreword', in *In the Light of Medieval Spain: Islam, the West, and the Relevance of the Past*, ed. Simon R. Doubleday and David Coleman (Basingstoke, 2008); p.xii; Fletcher, *Quest for El Cid*, p.4.
[96] Fletcher, *Quest for El Cid*, pp.4-6.

was in the service of the amirs of Zaragoza, and even after that keeps his relationship with Zaragoza as an ongoing factor. There are, however, also Muslim enemies depicted, notably with the invading Almoravids. The majority of the chronicle is focused on Christian people, however, the Muslims play a substantial role with some of the key individuals in Rodrigo's life, personally and politically are Muslims.

The other source in focus is also about a specific man, but this one a king and emperor, rather than a knight and mercenary. *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* is the account of Alfonso VII of León and Castile (r.1126-57), from the beginning of his reign. The chronicle appears to have been contemporary. The final event described is Alfonso's campaign to Almería in 1147, omitting the death of Queen Berengaria in 1149, thus placing its date of completion somewhere between the two events: its author and geographical provenance are shrouded in mystery.[97] While the source is contemporary with Alfonso VII, the nine manuscript copies are, at the earliest, from the sixteenth century, with three (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 1279, 1505 and 9237) based on a lost fourteenth-century version.[98] Some have attributed the authorship to bishop Arnaldo of Astorga, but this identification is far from clear.[99] While the style of the author has been criticised, it shows a great deal of learning, and there are plenty of biblical references throughout.[100]

While several historians have pointed out the central theme of retribution in the text, primarily aimed against the Saracens, it should be noted that the particular Saracens

[97] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris', in *The World of El Cid: Chronicles of the Spanish Reconquest*, eds. and trans. Simon Barton and Richard Fletcher (Manchester, 2000), pp.148 and 156-157.
[98] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), p.148.
[99] Raymond McCluskey, 'Malleable Accounts: Views of the Past in Twelfth Century Iberia', in *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. Paul Magdalino (London, 1992), pp. 211-225; 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), pp.158-161.
[100] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), pp.150-152.

targeted are the Almoravids.[101] In fact, there are numerous occasions throughout the source that describe alliances with other Saracens, and the first book instead starts with an emphasis on the Christian rival, Aragón, vilified because of its treatment of Alfonso VII's mother, Queen Urraca (r.1109-26). Also, while retribution is a powerful motive in the chronicle, another important factor is seen in the title of the chronicle: *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*. Alfonso was not the first to use the title *imperator*. His grandfather, the same Alfonso VI of El Cid, had in fact started doing this in 1078 as a way to counteract papal incursions as well as showing his intention of ruling the entirety of the peninsula, connected to a long history of imperial ambitions in the peninsula.[102] The same ambitions can be seen in *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*. Raymond McCluskey has suggested that the chronicle is in fact modelled on Einhard's *Vita Karoli Magni*, the life of another, indeed archetypal emperor, Charlemagne, which makes the notion of imperial ambitions even stronger.[103] The chronicle was partly about exacting retribution from the Aragonese and the Almoravids, but also about asserting the power of Alfonso VII. He positioned himself as the ruler of many groups of both Christians and Saracens with a claim to the entirety of the Iberian Peninsula. This makes the occurrence of Saracen allies very understandable, since it emphasises the imperial nature of Alfonso's kingship. This intent needs to be considered when reading the text. The author's partisanship with Alfonso VII is clear, with his primary rival being a Saracen foe but, his secondary rival the Christian Aragonese. This makes this chronicle, along with *Historia Roderici*, excellent examples of how Christians and Saracens in the Iberian Peninsula interacted, and they contain many examples of representations of

[101] McCluskey, 'Malleable Accounts', p. 219; 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), pp.153-154.
[102] Robert Folz, *The Concept of Empire in Western Europe: from the Fifth to the Fourteenth Century* (London, 1969), trans. Sheila Ann Ogilve, pp.40-41; Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI*, pp.103-104.
[103] McCluskey, 'Malleable Accounts', p.217.

Saracen men. Just like in the *Historia Roderici* the focus is on the Christian men, but the Saracen men still pay a major role in the source.

Kingdom of Sicily

It was not only the Iberian Peninsula where Christians and Muslims were in greater contact with each other during the Central Middle Ages, but also in Southern Italy and Sicily. While the Iberian situation developed over a very long time, the one in the Kingdom of Sicily was quite different. For the central medieval context, the best starting point is the Norman invasion. When discussing the Norman invasion, the 1066 conquest of England comes most readily to mind, but it should not be forgotten that around the same time there was another, southern Norman invasion. Eventually under the leadership of Robert Guiscard, later duke of Apulia and Calabria, the sons of Tancred de Hauteville (Altavilla in the Italian context) led their war bands south and conquered lands from both Christians and Muslims.[104] Southern Italy was already a culturally diverse region before the Norman invasion. Even before the Aghlabid conquest of Sicily the region had both Latin, Greek and Jewish populations, and those Arabs who migrated there developed a strong regional identity.[105] Before the arrival of the Muslims, the majority of the island's population were Greek speakers but their ethnic makeup was diverse.[106]

Although there might have been some earlier Norman involvement on the island, it was in 1035 that the first sons of Tancred of Hauteville arrived, which would change the

[104] Good introduction to Robert Guiscard and the Norman invasion can be found in Graham A. Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard: Southern Italy and the Norman Conquest* (Cambridge, 2002) first published in 2000.
[105] Leonardo C. Chiarelli, *A History of Muslim Sicily* (Malta, 2010), pp.67-69 and 123.
[106] Chiarelli, *History of Muslim Sicily*, pp.144-145.

political and cultural situation in the whole region. Although his older brothers were in charge initially, it was Robert Guiscard (d.1085) who became the principal leader of the invasion of most of Southern Italy. He married into the local Lombard ruling family of Salerno, and despite his long-running conflict with the Papacy, he managed to become legitimised as Duke of Apulia, Calabria and Sicily.[107] Robert Guiscard was the main leader while still alive, but his younger brother, Roger I of Sicily (d.1101), ruled the western territories in his stead, Sicily and at times Calabria, while Robert instead focused on launching failed invasions into the Balkans against Byzantium.[108] Robert was made Duke of Apulia and Calabria, with the prospect of Sicily as well, in 1059, and Roger became Count of Sicily in 1062, after being heavily involved in the conquest of the island from 1061. The invasion of the island came in the wake of a civil war between two brothers-in-law, Ibn al-Thumna and Ibn al-Hawwās, with the former fleeing to the mainland and deciding to hire the Normans as mercenaries in 1061. The Normans did arrive but decided to keep the conquests for themselves, and all of Sicily, except Noto and Butera, was conquered by 1086. The final strongholds surrendered in 1091. By this point the majority of the Norman forces on Sicily were themselves Muslim, something that at the time the Latin leaders seemed to accept without issue, although this would change during the twelfth century.[109] Roger I held a tight grip on Sicily, while supporting his family members on the mainland for regional stability before his death in 1101. At this point, as a result of the earlier diverse history as well as the acceptance of Islamic law in order to make the cities surrender quicker the majority of the peasant population on the island was still Muslim at the end of

[107] Kenneth Baxter Wolf, *Making History: The Normans and Their Historians in Eleventh-Century Italy* (Philadelphia, 1995), p.19; Loud, *Age of Robert Guiscard*, pp.3-4.
[108] Helene Wierusowksi, *Politics and Culture in Medieval Spain and Italy* (Rome, 1971), p.54.
[109] Joshua C. Birk, *Norman Kings of Sicily and the Rise of Anti-Islamic Critique: Baptized Sultans* (London, 2017), pp.35-36 and 66.

the century, and the majority of the Christians living on the island were Greek rather than Latin.[110] After Robert Guiscard's successor William II died childless in 1127 Roger I's son, Roger II, inherited the entirety of the Norman holdings of South Italy, and the Kingdom of Sicily, which included Apulia and Calabria, was formed in 1130. He therefore reigned over a kingdom that was far more ethnically and religiously diverse than his counterparts in the north, but he seemed, at least in the first parts of his reign, to appreciate his non-Latin subjects.

While the Kingdom of Sicily reached its apex under Roger II (r.1130-54), he was not liked by all and faced a lot of opposition for his kingship.[111] His cross-cultural cooperation at the start of the crusader movement, along with him being the king of an upstart, potentially illegitimate kingdom, was a source of criticism from other Christian rulers and the Papacy.[112] There was particularly negative writing about him by Otto of Freising because of Roger's rivalry with the Holy Roman Empire, tied to their papal links.[113] Roger II was not liked by Muslim lords either, since his primary conquests were of Islamic lands in North Africa. Because he was probably one of the more famous Christian rulers in the Islamic world, the chronicler Ibn al-Athīr (d.1233) blamed the start of the First Crusade on him, long after his death.[114] Roger II's rule was one of relative prosperity, especially in

[110] Graham A. Loud, 'Communities and Conflict in Southern Italy, from the Byzantines to the Angevins', *Al-Masaq* 28.2 (2016), pp.134 and 139.
[111] Paul Oldfield, 'Alexander of Telese's Encomium of Capua and the Formation of the Kingdom of Sicily', in *History* 102:350 (2017), pp.183-184.
[112] T.S. Brown, 'The Political Use of the Past in Norman Sicily', in *The Perceptions of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. Paul Magdalino (London, 1992), pp.202-203; Hubert Houben, *Roger II of Sicily: A ruler between East and West* (Cambridge, 2002), trans. Graham A. Loud and Diane Milburn, pp.86-97.
[113] Otto of Freising, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa by Otto of Freising and his Continuator, Rahewin*, ed. and trans.), ed. and trans. Charles Christopher Mierow (New York, 1953), I:xxiv p.54, I:xxix pp.62-63, I:lxx p.110; Houben, *Roger II of Sicily*, pp.61-63, 67-70 and 89-90.
[114] Ibn al-Athīr, *The chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the crusading period from* al-Kāmil fīʾl-taʾrīk*. Part 1: The Years 491–541/1097–1146: The Coming of the Franks and the Muslim Response*, ed. and trans. D.S. Richards (Aldershot, 2006), 272-273 pp.13-14.

terms of cultural and political development, but he had internal problems with the Latin baronage. He was governing a very young kingdom which he tried to innovate by bringing in administrators from the Greek and Islamic worlds, possibly actively using these to weaken the power of his Latin baronage, who eventually grew resentful of him.[115]

The situation escalated after his death and his successors, William I (r.1154-66) and William II (r.1166-89), both struggled with internal conflicts, several times resulting in anti-Muslim riots in Palermo.[116] Tancred I (r.1189-94) was also a relatively weak ruler, and was followed by a brief reign by William III (r.1194), before Constance (r.1194-98), the daughter of Roger II and married to the Holy Roman emperor Henry VI, overthrew him and brought Sicily under Hohenstaufen rule. Her son, Frederick II, was crowned King of Sicily in his minority after Constance died in 1198. Despite being known today as a multicultural ruler because of his ongoing contact with the Islamic world, Frederick II's reign witnessed a decline in the Islamic population. While the Muslim populations in the towns appeared relatively stable during the reign of Roger II there was the start of proper decline in the middle of the twelfth century.[117] In the 1180s there was clear pressure on the Muslim community, and in the political turmoil the riots often resulted in attacks against the Muslim community which can be compared to modern examples of ethnic cleansing, although it should be noted that this primarily targeted those Muslims living in the urban centres, while there were still many Muslim peasants living inland.[118] Already during the twelfth century Muslims had begun to emigrate and in 1224 all Muslims remaining in the

[115] Hiroshi Takayama, *The Administration of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Leiden, 1993), p.166; Alex Metcalfe, *The Muslims of Medieval Italy* (Edinburgh, 2009), p.168.
[116] Metcalfe, *Muslims of Medieval Italy*, pp.181-192.
[117] Loud, 'Communities and Conflict in Southern Italy', p.144; Sarah Davis-Secord, *Where Three Worlds Meet: Sicily in the Early Medieval Mediterranean*, (Ithaca, 2017), p.203.
[118] Loud, 'Communities and Conflict in Southern Italy', pp.144-147.

kingdom were moved to the colony Lucera in Apulia, which was abolished in 1300, after Charles II of Naples' conquest. What happened to the people there is unclear.[119]

While there were clearly tensions between ethnic groups, Sicily is often, like Iberia, used as an example of medieval multiculturalism. While the term 'multiculturalism' can be debated because of the ethnic tensions, Sicily was a meeting point not only for Norman and Islamic cultures, but also other Latin groups, Greeks and Jews. Visiting Palermo today there are traces everywhere of this multi-layered past, both in architecture and art. Often used as a symbol of this is the tomb stone of Anna (d.1148), mother of the priest Grisandus (see figure 1). The stone includes Christian inscriptions in Greek, Latin Arabic and Hebrew script, suggesting a multi-lingual society, and Hubert Houben has suggested that the Arabic and Hebrew script targeted converts to Christianity.[120]

[119] Metcalfe, *Muslims of Medieval Italy*, pp.285-194.
[120] Houben, *Roger II of Sicily*, p.109.

Fig. 1, Tombstone of Anna, Zisa Palace, Palermo. Author's photo.

But art and architecture only goes so far in understanding the cultural relationships between Christians and Muslims. While there was cultural exchange and acculturation, with a few exceptions, such as perhaps Roger II, it is likely that this did not take place as a result of curiosity and what today would be considered open mindedness, but rather necessity, as a result of the real demographic and social situation on the island as a result of the Norman invasion.[121] Sarah Davis-Secord has argued that the Norman rulers conceptualised Sicily as the centre of the Mediterranean, on the crossroads of multiple cultures, rather than on the periphery of their realm, which had been the norm under Byzantine and Kalbid rule.[122] This would have legitimised their relationships with the

[121] Hubert Houben, 'Religious Toleration in the South Italian Peninsula during the Norman and Staufen Periods', in *The Society of Norman Italy*, eds. Graham A. Loud and Alex Metcalfe (Leiden, 2002), pp. 319-339.
[122] Davis-Secord, *Where Three Worlds Meet*, pp.242-245.

minority groups, and elevated their own position, but that does not mean that a conceptual notion of Sicily as the centre of the Mediterranean had an impact on the wider relationship between the different ethnic groups on the island. While Roger II made efficient use of both Greek and Arabic institutions and administrators, the anti-Muslim riots of the later Norman kings reveal tensions between the groups, which were ready to come to the surface in the time of crises. There may have been cohabitation and cooperation for decades, but the differences were clearly there, and could be called upon if needed. While this concerned the majority Muslim peasantry less, there was still clearly a decline in the population throughout the decade which shows that the environment was far from ideal for the Muslims living there, and the situation changed dramatically during the timespan of this thesis.

The sources chosen to represent this geographic region are from the three different stages of Christian Muslim interaction in the period, the initial conquest, the golden age of Roger II, and the decline after his death. For the first period, the Norman invasion, there are three main chronicles, but one of them is more relevant than the others. The two other chronicles were written on the Italian mainland, and were more concerned with the business of the Papacy, their own regions and the conquest into the Balkans. The first is *D'Ystoire de li Normant* by Amatus of Montecassino, a monk writing around the year 1080 with sympathetic leanings towards Robert Guiscard and Richard of Capua.[123] The second, the hexametric *Gesta Robert Wiscardi*, produced between 1095 and 1098 by William of Apulia, a member of the court of Roger Borsa, lay or clerical, who was trying to support Roger's legitimacy and blur the ethnic lines between the Normans and

[123] Graham A. Loud, 'Introduction', in *The History of the Normans by Amatus of Montecassino*, trans. Prescott N. Dunbar and ed. Graham A. Loud (Woodbridge, 2004), p.18.

Lombards.[124] The third, *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae Comitis et Roberti Guiscardi Ducis Fratris eius*, written by Geoffrey Malaterra, was produced on Sicily and was mainly concerned with the conquest of the island, making it the most concerned with Islamo-Christian relations. While the two other sources do have interesting things to say about the Muslims of medieval Italy, the emphasis in Malaterra lies very much on the Muslims, which makes it a more suitable source to represent that phase in Sicily's history.

Malaterra wrote in the later years of the eleventh, or early years of the twelfth century, at the court of Count Roger I of Sicily, whom Malaterra tried to endorse in opposition to his more powerful brother, Robert Guiscard.[125] One theory is that it was written late in Roger's life, when he wanted to make sure his deeds were remembered, cementing the legitimacy of his heirs.[126] Malaterra's writing has survived in its original Latin. It exists in four different versions, identified by Ernesto Pontieri as Codex A, at Biblioteca Nazionale di Palermo, Codex B, at Biblioteca della Società Siciliana per la Storia Patria in Palermo, Codex C, deriving from Codex A, at Biblioteca Ventimilliana which is a part of Biblioteca Universitaria di Catania, and finally Codex D, deriving from Codex B, at Biblioteca Comunale di Palermo.[127] The chronicle is divided into four books, with the second beginning with Roger's initial military involvement on Sicily. According to his own account, Malaterra came from north of the Alps, so not native to Sicily, but not necessarily

[124] Wolf, *Making History*, pp.124-128; Ewan Johnson, 'Normandy and Norman Identity in Southern Italian Chronicles' in *Anglo-Norman Studies: XXVII. Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2004*, ed. John Gillingham (Woodbridge, 2005), p.88.
[125] Wolf, *Making History*, pp.143-145 and 147-148.
[126] Wolf, *Making History* p.147.
[127] Ernesto Pontieri, 'Prefazione' in Geoffrey Malaterra, *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae Comitis et Roberti Guiscardi Ducis Fratris eius*, ed. Ernesto Pontieri (Rerum Italicorum Scriptores v.5 p.1, Bologna, 1925-1928), pp.li-lvii.

Norman.[128] Although his origins are unclear, we know that he was attached to the monastery of St Agatha in Catania from 1091, a monastery which had many Saracens working its lands, where he had been brought as part of the Latinisation of the local Church.[129] Malaterra is an interesting figure, since unlike the other writers of the Norman invasion, he lived on Sicily, alongside Saracens, meaning that in comparison to those writers far away from the Islamic world, he might have had a greater knowledge of Islamic and Arabic culture and society. Even if he did not have much private interaction or engagement with their faith, he would at least be less likely to subscribe to some of the worst misconceptions concerning idolatry and monstrosity. Although not overtly positive, his depiction in some ways is more nuanced and diverse than those of Amatus and William of Apulia. Muslims do play a large role in his chronicle, since, just like in the Iberian chronicles used here, and far more predominant than in the contemporary Italian chronicles. Muslims are depicted as both enemies and allies. It should, however, be noted, and has been by others, that he did not always make the identity of the Muslim allies, notably Ibn al-Thumna himself.[130] He was clearly trying to strike a balance between acknowledging reality and the fact that there were both Saracen allies and enemies, while still trying to entertain his audience, who were living in that same reality.

There has been some debate over the existence of proto-crusading in the *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii*.[131] Kenneth Baxter Wolf has even argued that early versions of Holy War

[128] Geoffrey Malaterra, *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae Comitis et Roberti Guiscardi Ducis Fratris eius*, ed. Ernesto Pontieri (Rerum Italicorum Scriptores v.5 p.1, Bologna, 1925-1928), p.3: 'sed a transmontanis partibus venientem, noviter Apulum factum, vel certe Siculum'.
[129] Timothy Smit, 'Pagans and Infidels, Saracens and Sicilians: Identifying Muslims in the Eleventh-Century Chronicles of Norman Italy', in *The Haskins Society Journal: Studies in Medieval History*, 21 (2009), pp.70-71.
[130] Jesse Hysell, 'Ambivalent Images of Muslims in the Chronicles of Norman Italy', *Al-Masaq* 24 (2012), pp. 139-156.
[131] Paul E. Chevedden, '"A Crusade from the First": The Norman Conquest of Islamic Sicily, 1060–1091', in *Al-Masāq*, 22:2 (2010), pp.223-225.

motifs were inserted by Malaterra, placing the Norman invasion within the historiography of the early crusades and portraying the Normans as proto-crusaders, something other historians had also done.[132] There are some issues with this. Firstly, reading crusading themes before 1095 is problematic, since it assumed that the First Crusade was inevitable when in fact the Saracens as the key enemy did not develop until later. Also, while Wolf brings up the religious motifs, showing Count Roger I of Sicily as a knight of God, Timothy Smit has rightly pointed out that the two other chronicles of the southern Norman invasion, by Amatus of Cassino and William of Apulia used even stronger religious themes, despite the primary enemy of the Normans there being other Christians.[133] While it is likely that Malaterra was influenced by the climate of the First Crusade, his writing should not necessarily be seen as striving for the same ideals. A more important observation that Wolf makes is that the language in the *De Rebus Gesti Rogerii* is highly sexual, for example using 'penetrans'[134] in the introduction when describing the Normans initially entering France, with the landscape of Sicily depicted as a female conquest and the Normans as 'paradigms of manliness'[135], making them the ideal secular men. Violence, including brutal forms of it that today would be interpreted as horrifying, was not only often considered just, but a way to show this prowess. Despite writing in a time when crusading ideals were forming as a likely source of inspiration, *De Rebus Gesti Rogerii*'s depictions fit better into this wider context of romances than that of proto-crusading. What is more unique about Malaterra is this sexual language and that, at least in comparison with the other chroniclers used here,

[132] Metlitzki, *Matter of Araby in Medieval England*, p.119; Wolf, *Making History*, pp.160-163.
[133] Smit, 'Pagans and Infidels', pp.75-76.
[134] Malaterra, *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii*, I.1, p.7.
[135] Wolf, *Making History*, p.149.

he borrowed many tropes from the romances. This means that his approach was often more fantastical, and impacts his representations.

Moving to the second period, the reign of Roger II, contemporary writers had different views of him depending on their patronage, clearly seen when comparing the chronicles of Alexander of Telese (d.1136) and Falco of Benevento (d.1144), both written in southern Italy during a similar period. As discussed, Roger was controversial for many reasons. He was a determined ruler, who did not tolerate opposition. This was not necessarily considered as something negative, but it did mean that those writers who believed that his rule was illegitimate and unjust saw tyranny in his actions, while those supporting him saw a hard but just ruler. On the whole contemporary writers, other than Alexander of Telese, were often critical of him, primarily because of his autonomy, but also his receptiveness to Arab culture.[136] While it can be difficult to find Saracens in the historical records of Roger II, there are certainly examples of them in the sources produced in the kingdom about Roger II. For that reason a few different sources will be used rather than one, as none of them have a particularly great focus on Muslims. Alexander of Telese in particular, despite writing for Roger II, who clearly had a lot of Muslims in his army and among his servants only has two mentions of Muslims that can be identified, perhaps showing a reluctance to depict them.[137]

Alexander of Telese was a supporter of Roger. He was abbot at the monastery of Telese near Benevento and likely died in 1136, probably writing his *Ystoria Rogerii Regis Sicilie Calabrie atque Apulie* in late 1135 and early 1136.[138] Roger II, initially a duke, was

[136] Houben, *Roger II of Sicily*, pp.4-5.
[137] Hysell, 'Ambivalent Images of Muslims', p.151.
[138] Graham A. Loud, 'Introduction', in *Roger II and the Creation of the Kingdom of Sicily*, ed. and trans. Graham A. Loud (Manchester, 2012), p.52.

anointed king in 1130 and died in 1154, meaning that the text only covers the first part of his reign. Alexander of Telese came to support Roger through Roger's half-sister Mathilda. She was one of the key players in the struggle Roger faced in the 1130s, since she was married to one of his greatest opponents, Rainulf of Alife (d.1139), but supported her brother over her husband.[139] Alexander appears to have had a relatively standard monastic education. While some of his references are Roman, most are from the Old Testament stories about kings, used to justify Roger's reign.[140] Only one manuscript survives of the complete text, found in Barcelona (Biblioteca Central, ms. 996-8-III, fols. 97-140) in a fourteenth-century compilation which also includes Malaterra's chronicle. This version is probably based on an original from the library of S. Nicolò d'Arena in Catania, where the Spanish historian Jeronima Zurita y Castro copied it in 1550 for his published edition of 1578.[141]

Covering a similar period, although starting earlier and ending later, is the *Chronicon* by Falco of Benevento, one of Roger II's critics.[142] Unlike some of his other critics, like Otto of Freising, Falco was actually writing from a close proximity to Roger's power, being a judge and notary at the papal palace in Benevento, geographically close to Alexander of Telese's monastery.[143] While Alexander's text appears to have been over a short period of time, Falco wrote on and off from the 1120s to his death in 1144. Initially the *Chronicon* focussed only on events in Benevento but, from Roger's arrival on the Italian mainland in 1127, the scope of the text widened.[144] The idea that it was written in bursts at

[139] Houben, *Roger II of Sicily*, p.61; Loud, 'Introduction' (2012), pp.53-54.
[140] Brown, 'The Political Use of the Past in Norman Sicily', p.199.
[141] Loud, 'Introduction' (2012), p.54.
[142] Falco of Benevento, *Chronicon Beneventanum: Città e Feudi nell'Italia dei Normanni*, ed. Edoardo d'Angelo (Florence, 1998).
[143] Brown, 'The Political Use of the Past in Norman Sicily', p.198; Loud, 'Introduction' (2012), p.56.
[144] Loud, 'Introduction' (2012), pp.56-57.

different times comes from Graham A. Loud, who believes there are slightly different biases in the text, which makes sense if it was written at different points.[145] Benevento had been under papal protection since the eleventh century, with attempts at gaining firmer control from 1101, which could explain Falco's strong opposition to the power grab by Roger II and the Normans in general, even comparing them to the Saracens.[146] Unfortunately no medieval copy survives of the manuscript and, of the four existing copies the earliest is from the seventeenth century, although there is an *edition princeps* from 1629 which appears to be based on a now lost earlier manuscript.[147] There is evidence for its earlier existence since there is thirteenth-century material that used the chronicle as a source.[148] In terms of placing the blame for the 1130s conflict, Falco and Alexander have opposite opinions, but they do both agree that Roger was a strong ruler, who would not tolerate opposition.[149] Another thing they had in common was that they were contemporaries of Roger II who finished their accounts before his death. There is one final account contemporary with Roger, which continued into his later years, and was still being written in his final year. Just like in the case of the work of Alexander of Telese, Muslims do not play a major role in the chronicle, but they do appear as enemies. Since the two sources have so little to say, a third source will also be utilised from this period.

Romuald Guarna, more widely known as Romuald of Salerno because he was Archbishop of the city from 1153 to 1181, wrote his *Chronicon* as a universal chronicle, the

[145] Loud, 'Introduction' (2012), p.56.
[146] Brown, 'The Political Use of the Past in Norman Sicily', p.198; Graham A. Loud, 'History Writing in the Twelfth-Century Kingdom of Sicily', in *Chronicling History: Chroniclers and Historians in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, eds. Sharon Dale, Alison Williams Lewin and Duane J. Osheim (University Park, 2007), pp.36-38.
[147] Loud, 'Introduction' (2012), p.55.
[148] Loud, 'Introduction' (2012), p.55.
[149] Loud, 'History Writing in the Twelfth-Century Kingdom of Sicily', pp.41-42

first one in Italy since antiquity.[150] He covered events such as the Creation of the World and included sources like Paul the Deacon, but closer to his own time he became more focused and may have been an eye-witness to one of the events that he covered, the Peace Conference in Venice 1177.[151] There have been some questions over the authorship of the chronicle, since although some parts of the chronicle are clearly based on other sources, some parts are unique, including his emphasis on Salerno.[152] The section that is the most interesting for this particular thesis has even more issues. There are three surviving manuscript copies, but only two of them contain the trial and execution of Philip of Mahdia, the Amir of Palermo, in 1155, which will be of great importance in Chapter Six, since this was likely added later into Romuald's text by a different author.[153] The source on the whole, just like the other two, has little to say about Muslims, more than Telese but they are still mainly the occasional portrayal of the enemy. It is the marginalia regarding the trial which is of the most interest here.

For the third and final period, after the death of Roger, one of the most important sources for the history of the region is *Liber de Regno Sicilie*. In English it is known as *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily*, covering 1154 to 1169, but it might not have been written until 1181.[154] The author is generally known as Hugo Falcandus but this name did not appear until a printed translation around 1550, and the actual identity of the writer is unknown.[155] There are four versions of this text, the oldest being an early thirteenth-

[150] D.J.A. Matthew, 'The Chronicle of Romuald of Salerno', in *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Richard William Southern*, ed. R.H.C. Davis and J.M. Wallace-Hadrill (Oxford, 1981) p.239.
[151] Loud, 'Introduction' (2012), pp.58-59.
[152] Loud, 'Introduction' (2012), pp.58-59.
[153] Loud, 'Introduction' (2012), pp.58-60.
[154] Brown, 'The Political Use of the Past in Norman Sicily', p.201.
[155] Graham Loud and Thomas Wiedemann, 'Introduction' in Hugo Falcandus, *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily by 'Hugo Falcandus' 1154-69*, eds. Graham A. Loud and Thomas Wiedemann (Manchester, 1998), p.28.

century copy kept in the Vatican Library (Vat. Lat. 10690), and none of them with a named author.[156] Two theories concerning the identity of the author are that he was either Robert of San Giovanni, a Latin royal notary and canon, or Eugenius, a Greek royal notary and poet native to Southern Italy, neither theory with any conclusive evidence.[157] The latter theory was originally presented by Evelyn Jamison in 1957 but it has had a number of critics.[158] If the identity of the author is indeed Eugenius it might be considered problematic to use a Greek writer to discuss Latin culture, but the text is in Latin, showing its context and indicating its intended audience. The author's ethnicity may have been Greek but it would be disingenuous to assume that the ethnicity of medieval authors was more important than the context they were living and working in, especially when dealing with Southern Italy or the Iberian Peninsula. It also cannot be assumed that a particular ethnicity meant certain ideas and prejudices. A couple of more recent theories suggest that the author could be either Peter of Blois, a French cleric and diplomat known for his letters, or his brother Guillaume, since both spent time on Sicily.[159] Unfortunately all of these theories lack the necessary evidence to be proven, and Loud who co-translated the text has really only been able to conclude that it was 'probably' native to the Kingdom of Sicily. [160]

Although the identity of the author is unclear, he did have great insight into Sicilian politics and society. Regardless of authorship it was written in the context of Sicilian society rather than French or Byzantine society, in Latin rather than Arabic, Greek or Hebrew. This means that even if the author was Eugenius, it still reveals attitudes and perceptions in the

[156] Loud and Wiedemann, 'Introduction', p.29.
[157] Loud and Wiedemann, 'Introduction', pp.31-42.
[158] Evelyn M. Jamison, *The Admiral Eugenius of Sicily: His Life and Work and the Authorship of the Epistola ad Petrum and the Historia Falcandi Siculi* (London, 1957), pp.177-219; Brown, 'The Political Use of the Past in Norman Sicily', p.201.
[159] Loud, 'Introduction' (2012), p.3 n.5.
[160] Loud, 'Introduction' (2012), p.3.

Kingdom of Sicily in the second half of the twelfth century. The text is known for its strong bias, using classical models of tyranny to relentlessly attack Sicilian statesmen, but other sources can be used to confirm that factually it is largely accurate.[161] It is also famous for its detailed depictions of the political developments in the kingdom after the death of King Roger II. Another notable thing is how unabashedly critical it is of the rulers and administrators of Sicily, especially Admiral Maio of Bari, administrator under the reign of Roger's son and successor William I. While the author clearly points the finger at Maio of Bari as the greatest perpetrator of tyranny, his death comes relatively early in the account with his 1160 assassination, and from that point a lot of the focus is on the power of the eunuchs. This means that Falcandus' depiction of eunuchs is in general quite negative, since the source is about tyranny, but the ways in which they are attacked needs to be considered, which will be part of the focus for Chapter Six. The Sicilian chronicles are rather sprawling in scope and opinions, clearly showing changing attitudes and treatment of Muslims over the course of the late-eleventh and twelfth centuries, from alliances, to cohabitation to violent disruption. This was unlike Iberia, where cohabitation and acculturation took place over much longer time, and the third main region, which might have been disruptive by nature, but where there were never any stronger ideas of multiculturalism.

The Holy Land

While the notion of the Norman invasion of Sicily as a proto-crusade is doubtful with religious influence not being central to the Normans, it is difficult to deny an element of

[161] Loud and Wiedemann, 'Introduction', pp.1-2.

religious zeal contributing to the invasion of the Levant during the First Crusade, alongside issues of land and money.[162] The interest for the actual crusade, under its diverse leaders was also impressive, but the actual journey to, and capture of the Holy Land certainly was entirely different from what the instigators, Pope Urban II and Emperor Alexios I had expected, the latter hoping for a mercenary army to aid against the Seljuk Turks. The crusaders did not receive a warm welcome in Constantinople, since rather than a smaller mercenary force expected they were a massive armed pilgrimage. The crusaders quickly moved through, and although some deals were made over Byzantine support and handing conquered towns over to them, these quickly fell apart, as there was a lot of mutual distrust between the Greeks and the Latins.

Jerusalem had acquired an important ideological role in the early crusades as a centrepiece of Urban II's rhetoric, although it did not play the same role for the Byzantines, or even the Muslims of the time.[163] Despite this, its capture in 1099 was one of disappointment to its participants, especially compared to the perceived triumph at Antioch the year before. Most of the great buildings were not Christian but Muslim, and the conquest had become one of unusual brutality, which appears to have invoked horror.[164] It is clear when reading most chronicles of the First Crusade that despite the ideological emphasis on Jerusalem it was the conquest of Antioch in 1098 that was the greatest scene of triumph. It was the place where many of the crusader leaders convened, and after a drawn out but victorious siege, the crusaders themselves became besieged by a

[162] Smit, 'Pagans and Infidels', p.73; Chevedden, 'A Crusade from the First', pp.191-225; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: a History* (London, 2014) (3rd ed.), pp.33-43
[163] Riley-Smith, *First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, p.21; Uebel, 'Unthinking the Monster', pp.269-270; Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* (Edinburgh, 1999), pp.150-191; Akbari, *Idols in the East*, p.50.
[164] Kedar, Benjamin Z., 'The Subjected Muslims of the Frankish Levant', in in *Muslims under Latin Rule, 1100-1300*, ed. James M. Powell (Princeton, 1990), pp.135-174.

great Turkish force led by general Karbuqa. Despite terrible odds they managed to break the siege and conquer the city, making Bohemond the previously mentioned son of Robert Guiscard I, the ruler of the city and its surrounding region. In trying to explain how they could win against such overwhelming odds the religious nature of the fight was invoked in the sources, with depictions of saintly visions, heavenly hosts fighting alongside the crusaders and, most importantly, the finding of the Holy Lance.[165] In reality, the victory was symptomatic of a greater issue for the Islamic forces: they were deeply divided.[166] There were not only internal divisions between the different Turkish groups and their Sunni allies, but also the overall Sunni conflict with the Shi'ite Fatimid Empire based in Egypt. At the time of the First Crusade there was, however, a power vacuum, as the great leader of the Seljuk Turks, Malik Shah I (r.1072-92) and the Fatimid Caliph, al-Mustanṣir bi-llāh (r.1036-94), had died at similar times, and both leaving behind them political chaos and succession crises.[167] This Islamic disunity favoured crusader success, and despite the conquest of Jerusalem perhaps being less grandiose than imagined, it did lead to the establishment of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and other small kingdoms around the Middle East

The crusader states were led by Frankish lords. They were from families that had often not been very powerful in their French ancestral lands, like the Ibelins, but were able to expand their power in this new, alien context.[168] The Latins were never a majority, even in the lands they ruled, despite efforts to change this and, unlike the Iberian or Sicilian

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[165] *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum: The Deeds of the Franks and the other Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, ed. and trans. Rosalind Hill (London, 1962), IX:28-29 pp.65-69; Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui Ceperunt Iherusalem*, eds. and trans. John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Philadelphia, 1968), VII pp.51-58; Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem 1095-1127*, trans. Frances Rita Ryan and ed. Harold S. Fink (Knoxville, 1969), XX:1-3 pp.102-103.
[166] A.C.S Peacock, *The Great Seljuk Empire* (Edinburgh, 2015), pp.27-28, 53-54 and 61-66.
[167] Hillenbrand, *Crusades*, pp.38-48.
[168] Riley-Smith, Jonathan, *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 172-173; Jean Richard, *The Crusades, c. 1071- c. 1291* (Cambridge, 1999), trans. Jean Birrell, p.93.

lords, there appears to have been very little in the way of cultural exchange between Latins and Saracens.[169] Like Iberia and Sicily the idea of borderland can be considered, but here the entire region was the borderland, not just the frontier, and there were peaceful interactions with Muslims out of necessity.[170] But perhaps as a result of the religious ideas circulating, or the fact that the Latin population was less stable in the Levant, since most did not belong to local noble families, but came on crusades, pilgrimages, or to join the military order, or as Italian merchants to supply the crusade, there was never the same degree of acculturation. [171] While on Sicily the hold on the cities appears to have eventually led to Latin dominance despite the Muslim being the majority population at the start of Norman rule, and remaining so in the countryside, this never happened in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Whether if it was due to religious zeal, or demographic and geographical factors, the Christian ruler appears to have engaged less with cultural exchange than those of Iberia and Sicily. The eventual rise of Muslim rulers who posed a threat against them ensured that the Latin hold on the Middle East would not last overly long.

It was initially Imad ad-Dīn Zangid (d.1146) who started taking land from the crusaders, notably Edessa in 1144, and the Muslims started to unite, but the Sunni Sultanate was not properly solidified until Nūr ad-Dīn (r.1146-74), Zangid's son. Nūr ad-Dīn not only consolidated real power but he brought the possession of Jerusalem back into political and religious discourse, meaning that a proper counter-movement to the crusade could be launched.[172] On Nūr ad-Dīn's death, the power was wrested from his children into

[169] Joshua Prawer, 'The Roots of Medieval Colonialism', in *The Meeting of Two Worlds: Cultural Exchange between East and West during the Period of the Crusades*, ed. Vladimir P. Goss (Kalamazoo, 1986), p.33; Richard, *Crusades*, p.95.
[170] Rainer Christopher Schwinges, 'William of Tyre, the Muslim Enemy, and the Problem of Tolerance', in *Tolerance and Intolerance: Social Conflict in the Age of the Crusades*, eds. Michael Gervers and James M. Powell (New York, 2001), pp.124-125.
[171] Richard, *Crusades*, pp.96-99.
[172] Hillenbrand, *Crusades*, pp.150-161.

the hands of the Kurdish general, Salāh ad-Dīn (r.1174-93), more famous as Saladin. Saladin continued the focus on Jerusalem, and finally captured it after the battle of Hattin in 1187, following which he faced the new arrivals of the Third Crusade. His archetypal role in European culture was an important one, and will be further examined in Chapter Three. Important to note is that despite the loss of Jerusalem, there were still crusader states in Outremer, but they never recovered from their losses. Even if Jerusalem was briefly returned to Latin hands through negotiation by Frederick II in 1228, it fell back into Muslim hands in 1244. The last foothold of the crusaders in Outremer was lost in 1291 with the loss of Acre, with Henry II, King of Jerusalem and a member of the Lusignan family retreating to his Cypriot holdings.

The Kingdom of Jerusalem was short lived, primarily playing an ideological role in the crusader movement. The Latins here were there to fight against the Muslims specifically and protect holy sites from the start, unlike those in Sicily and Iberia. They made no real effort for integration and instead worked against it, as exemplified by the laws from the Council of Nablus (1120) which will be discussed in Chapter Five. This meant that the Latin authors were very much tied to their isolated context and in some ways they were just as French as those who remained in France. But there is still some notable material from the Kingdom of Jerusalem that should be considered, especially one chronicle. While crusader chroniclers had the crusades themselves as its focus, William of Tyre focused on the history of Jerusalem, primarily the First Crusades and the Kingdom of Jerusalem. There are other chronicles about the earlier crusades, but since they were produced by people born in Western Europe, rather than the kingdom of Jerusalem, they will be discussed in the next section.

William of Tyre was born in Jerusalem to French parents around the year 1130, became the Archbishop of Tyre in 1175 and was also the Chancellor of the Kingdom of Jerusalem from 1174 to his death in 1186. While he did spend twenty years in France and Northern Italy, for educational reasons, he was born and spent most of his life in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and was engaged in its church politics.[173] He also knew not only French and Latin, but also Arabic and Greek, and a little bit of Hebrew and Persian.[174] Norman Daniel did note that William of Tyre revealed very little interest in Arabic culture and knowledge in his writing, but he did certainly have an interest in their history, and even produced a work on the History of the Orient, *Gesta Orientalium Principum*, that has now, unfortunately, been lost.[175] He is also considered by some modern historians to be one of those who wrote more closely to modern ideals of history writing, compared to most other medieval writers, since while he used the typical tropes, he did criticise them and provided multiple possible interpretations at times.[176] One example of this is his description of the origin of the Turks.[177] Suggestive of William's role in this is that, despite all his knowledge of the history of the Islamic world, and living in an environment with a lot of Muslims, he knew less of Islam than the French Guibert de Nogent.[178] William of Tyre was working for the royal family of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and stopped writing in 1184 or 1185, meaning that he stopped short of the loss of the city after Hattin. He outlined the history of

[173] Peter W. Edbury and John Gordon Rowe, *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge, 1988), pp.13-15 and 20.
[174] A.C. Krey, 'Introduction', in *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea by William Archbishop of Tyre*, eds. and trans. Emily Atwater Babcock and A.C. Krey, 2 vols. (New York, 1943), pp.8-9.
[175] Daniel, *Islam and the West*, p.27; Daniel, *Arabs and Mediaeval Europe*, p.200; Edbury and Rowe, *William of Tyre*, p.23.
[176] Krey, 'Introduction', pp.32 and 53-54; Jo Ann Hoeppner Moran Cruz, 'Popular Attitudes toward Islam in Medieval Europe', in *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, eds. David R. Blanks and Michael Frassetto (Basingstoke, 1999), pp.68-69.
[177] William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea by William Archbishop of Tyre*, eds. and trans. Emily Atwater Babcock and A.C. Krey, 2 vols. (New York, 1943), v.1 I:7 pp.72-73; Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (London, 2008), pp.51-52.
[178] Hill, 'Christian view of the Muslims', p.3.

the crusader possession of the city from the perspective of someone spending most of his life there. This means that not only did he have an interest in the crusader movement, but in the politics of the kingdom. William of Tyre therefore had much closer interactions with the Saracens of the Middle East than the French crusader writers from Western Europe, and, reflective of his reality they play a major role in his chronicle as political enemies, allies and background figures.

While William of Tyre was an important writer, he was not as popular in the West as, for example, Robert the Monk, but he was still significant. The earliest copies we have of his manuscripts are from the thirteenth century and there are at least seventy-one medieval French copies of the chronicle.[179] There has been some recent scholarship on the Old French tradition, and how it compares to the Latin.[180] The manuscript tradition is complicated, with several different versions, made more complicated by the fact that there are more versions of the Old French translation; when R.B.C. Huygens made his Latin version he ended up using nine different manuscript versions.[181] While not as influential in the Western Latin World as others, his role of depicting the crusades and Islamic world from the perspective of a Frank in the Middle East is invaluable.

France and Germany

As stated in the introduction, France and England used to be the focus of European medieval history, although this is no longer the case. This was as a general rule

[179] Krey, 'Introduction', pp.38-39 and 41.
[180] Peter W Edbury, 'New Perspectives on the Old French Continuations of William of Tyre', in *Crusades*, 9 (2010), pp. 107-113; Philip Handyside, *The Old French William of Tyre* (Leiden, 2015).
[181] R.B.C. Huygens 'Les Manuscrits', in *Guillaume de Tyr: Chronique*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, 2 vols. (Turnhout, 1986), pp.3-32.

problematic, but especially when dealing with a topic such as this. The theological debate with Islam might have had its focus here, and French clerics, such as Peter the Venerable were among those responsible for bringing knowledge of Islam to the Latin Christian context. However, there was comparatively little direct contact between the Islamic world and continental Europe compared to the other three regions. Outside of theological debate the primary way in which medieval France came into contact with the Islamic world was the crusades, which means that the majority of the historical sources from this region dealing with this relationship were crusader chronicles. While some of them were produced by people who had participated in crusades, none of them were in the position, like in Sicily and Iberia, of living in a world with a large part of the peasantry being Muslim, or in a city with both Christians and Muslims. This, in turn meant they treated Saracens as inherently hostile and alien. The first three crusades, 1095-99, 1146-47 and 1189-92, all had great French participation, with the latter two even including the French kings Louis VII (r.1137-80) and Philip II Augustus (r. 1180-1223). The Second Crusade, responding to the 1144 Turkish conquest of Edessa, also included King Conrad III (r. 1138–52) and the Third Crusade, following the loss of Jerusalem in 1187, saw Holy Roman Emperor Frederick Barbarossa (r. 1155-90) intending to join it, but drowning in the river Göksu on his way there. It was, however, also joined by Philip II August (r. 1179-1223) and Richard I (r. 1189-1199). The fact that these were expeditions means that, unlike the other regions covered in this thesis, the history of the Latin people there was there less closely intertwined with that of Saracen people, since they were primarily considered outside enemies. However, the crusades had a massive cultural impact. There are many French and German accounts of the crusaders that can be divided between chronicles and romances, but among the

chronicles there is a further distinction: some were written by participants, others based their work entirely on the stories of others.

There are generally three or four Latin writers that are considered as eye-witnesses of the First Crusade (1095-1099). The anonymous *Gesta Francorum* and *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* by Raymond d'Aguilers complement each other well, often describing the same situations from different perspectives. Raymond was a chaplain of Raymond of Tolouse and the anonymous writer of the *Gesta Francorum* probably a follower of Bohemond, potentially a literate knight.[182] Colin Morris has argued that the author was instead a cleric, but the joint evidence of Rosalind Hill and Conor Kostick for the author being a knight is rather convincing, not only because of the source's base in *chansons de geste*, but also its limited Latin vocabulary.[183] Raymond of Tolouse and Bohemond of Taranto were rivals during the crusade, so the chronicles deliver different perspectives both in terms of social and geographic backgrounds and in terms of whom they supported.[184] The main problem with placing the *Gesta Francorum* in this category is because of the consensus that the author was a follower of Bohemond of Taranto, which has made many believe that he was from Southern Italy. However, his writing had a massive impact on the French tradition of writing narratives of the First Crusade, both chronicles and romances, and there are some indications that he might not actually be from Southern Italy.[185] As will be shown in later chapters, the *Gesta Francorum* is far less familiar with the Islamic context than any of the other South Italian authors used, which

[182] Rosalind Hill, 'Introduction' in *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum: The Deeds of the Franks and the other Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, ed. Rosalind Hill (London, 1962), pp.xi-xv; Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens*, p.243; Conor Kostick, 'A Further Discussion on the Authorship of the *Gesta Francorum*', in *Reading Medieval Studies*, 35 (2009), p.11.
[183] Colin Morris, 'The *Gesta Francorum* as narrative history', in *Reading Medieval Studies*, 19 (1993), pp.55-71; Kostick, 'A Further Discussion on the Authorship of the *Gesta Francorum*', pp.3-6.
[184] William M. Aird, *Robert Curthouse Duke of Normandy,* c. *1050-1134* (Woodbridge, 2008), p.181.
[185] Kostick, 'A Further Discussion on the Authorship of the *Gesta Francorum*', p.1.

might indicate that while he was a follower of Bohemond, he came from a different region. Not all agree with this and, in fact, Joshua C. Birk has argued that the reason that the *Gesta Francorum* is believed to be more positive towards Muslims than other, French, crusader chronicles, was because he was from Southern Italy.[186] An alternative explanation to this would be the fact that if the author was a literate knight, this portrayal was based in the *chansons de geste* tradition of Saracen knights as mirrors of their Frankish counterparts, which will be discussed in Chapter Three. The *Gesta Francorum* did have tremendous impact on the crusader narratives since it was used as a source by the majority of later chronicles, including Raymond d'Aguilers very shortly after. [187] This is a clear case of how even the eye-witnesses were directly influenced by other accounts. As these accounts are complementary they will both be used. Muslims play a similar role in the two. The focus is clearly on the Christian crusaders, but since they are about a military conflict against groups of Muslims, they are a constant presence, even if it often is as great armies rather than individuals, although military leaders are described more in depth.

There is also *Historia Hierosolymitana* by Fulcher of Chartres, who served under Baldwin of Boulogne. This was the same Baldwin who in 1100 became the first crowned king of Jerusalem. While Fulcher was not present for some of the crucial events of the First Crusade, such as the siege of Antioch and capture of Jerusalem, he did remain in the Kingdom of Jerusalem and continued his chronicle until 1127. *Historia Hierosolymitana* mentions these crucial events, but he used the *Gesta Francorum* and *Historia Francorum* to fill in his gaps, but also went well beyond the end of the crusade, into the formation of the

[186] Joshua C. Birk, 'Imagining the Enemy: Southern Italian Perceptions of Islam at the Time of the First Crusade', in *Just Wars, Holy Wars, and Jihads: Christian, Jewish, and Muslim Encounters and Exchanges*, ed. Sohail H. Hashmi (Oxford, 2012), pp.91-106.
[187] Susan Edgington, 'The First Crusade: Reviewing the Evidence', in *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact*, ed. Jonathan Phillips (Manchester, 1997), p.56.

crusader kingdoms.[188] Muslims played a similar role here as in the previous two sources, so he will not be utilised other than as comparison with the previous two sources, and also for his depiction of Greek eunuchs when discussing Muslim eunuchs in Chapter Six. There is also *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere* by Peter Tudebodus, which has been extensively used by John V. Tolan, mainly because *Historia de Hierosolymitano* and *Historia Francorum* had most depictions of the Saracens as pagans.[189] Some have suggested that the *Gesta Francorum* is based on *Historia de Hierosolymitano* because of their similarities, or that they were based on the same lost source, but not all agree and instead hold that Tudebodus was not even an eyewitness.[190] Because of the questions regarding this source, and its similarities with the *Gesta Francorum*, it will not be used here.

While the *Gesta Francorum* was clearly used as the foundation for most of the later crusader chronicles, although sometimes indirectly, just because the other sources were written by eye-witnesses did not mean they were the most widely circulated ones. Robert the Monk's chronicle of the First Crusade, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, was perhaps the most popular one in the Central Middle Ages. It was circulated in plenty of manuscripts in Latin, was used as one of the main sources for crusader romances, and was printed as early as 1470, which shows its continued popularity.[191] Another example of these retellings is that of the famous theologian Guibert de Nogent. He wrote an account of the First Crusade

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[188] Harold S. Fink, 'Introduction', in *Fulcher of Chartres*: *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem 1095-1127*, trans. Frances Rita Ryan and ed. Harold S. Fink (Knoxville, 1969), p.9; Edgington, 'The First Crusade', p.57.
[189] Tolan, *Saracens*, p.118.
[190] Edgington, 'The First Crusade', pp.55-57; Jay Rubenstein, 'What is the *Gesta Francorum*, and who was Peter Tudebode?', in *Revue Mabillon: Revue Internationale d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses*, 16 (2005), pp.179-204.
[191] Susan B. Edgington, and Carol Sweetenham, 'Introduction', in *The* Chanson d'Antioche*: An Old French Account of the First Crusade*, ed. and trans. Susan B. Edgington and Carol Sweetenham (Aldershot, 2011), p.9; D. Kempf and M.G. Bull, 'Introduction', in *The* Historia Iherosolimitana *of Robert the Monk*, ed. D. Kempf and M.G. Bull (Woodbridge, 2013), pp.ix-x and xliii-xlviii

named *Dei Gesta per Francos*, which was not as popular as Robert the Monk's, or even as his other writings.[192] While his account is in many ways a compilation of the previous chronicles, the account is interesting because Guibert was not only also a writer of religious polemic, but relatively well-educated in terms of Islam.[193] The chronicle even begins with a *Vita* of Muhammad.[194] Both Guibert de Nogent and Robert the Monk finished their chronicles before 1124, meaning that they were written in hindsight, but before the start of the Second Crusade. The role of the Muslims is very similar as that in the earlier crusader chronicles, but they can show shifting perspectives in the Frankish world, one of a theological, and one from a more popular perspective.

For the twelfth-century crusades there is Odo of Deuil' *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*. Odo was the chaplain of Louis VII during the Second Crusade (1147-49), and notably one of the few authors who was willing to write about the disappointment of the expedition.[195] This is perhaps why there is only one copy of this manuscript, from the twelfth century, and it is found in the College of Medicine at Montpellier (MS No. 39). Although having a high degree of veracity Virginia Berry has argued that it was primarily written to show Louis in a good light and give advice to future crusaders based on Odo's own experience.[196] It contains surprisingly few comments on the Saracens, despite this being a source concerning a crusade against them, especially in comparison to the strong opinions Odo had about the Greeks. There is also *Historia Gloriosi Regis Ludovici* by Suger (d.1151), the abbot of St Denis who did not attend the crusade, but was personally

[192] Robert Levine, 'Introduction' in Guibert de Nogent, *The Deeds of God through the Franks: Gesta Dei per Francos*, ed. Robert Levine (Woodbridge, 1997), p.1.
[193] Levine, 'Introduction', pp.8-9.
[194] Guibert de Nogent, *The Deeds of God through the Franks: Gesta Dei per Francos*, ed. Robert Levine (Woodbridge, 1997), Book I, pp.32-36.
[195] Virginia Gingerick Berry, 'Introduction', in *Odo of Deuil: De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, ed. and trans. Virginia Gingerick Berry (New York, 1948), pp.xvii.
[196] Berry, 'Introduction', pp.xvii, xxiii and xxxii.

acquainted with Odo, who succeeded him as abbot at St Denis in 1151.[197] Louis VII's involvement in the Second Crusade along with his then wife might be expected to be described as a major event, but Suger only has a short paragraph mentioning it happening, and how Louis prayed at the Holy Sepulchre.[198] Unlike his *Vita* of Louis VI, Suger's writing on Louis VII was not a grandiose history, but according to Lindy Grant: 'a memoir of some things that Louis did, as seen by a counsellor who was involved in them.'[199] Just like with Odo, there are surprisingly few mentions of Muslims in the source, since the emphasis was not on crusade but on the reign of the king. Therefore the Muslims were only part of the backdrop for one of the aspects of the kingship. For the Third Crusade (1189-92), there is Rigord (d.1209), who wrote *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, although he was not a participant. This places Rigord in a similar relation to the crusading movement as Suger. This source has a few more mentions of the crusade than Suger's did, and also includes discussion of the expulsion of Jews from France in 1182. It mentions envoys coming from the Holy Land to the French court to request aid in 1185 and 1187, and how King Philip II Augustus (r. 1180-1223) and King Henry II of England (r.1154-89) took the cross in response to this.[200] Despite the greater emphasis on crusade by Rigord compared to Suger, there is again little on the battles or the Saracens. In fact, there is a lot more on the so-called Saladin tithes, levied to support the crusade, than on Saladin himself.[201] What is clear is that although there are plenty of sources that deal with the First Crusade, the interest in writing about later crusades was lower despite royal participants, probably because of the relative failure of

[197] Lindy Grant, *Abbot Suger of St-Denis: Church and State in Early Twelfth-Century France* (London, 1998), p.37.
[198] Suger, 'De Glorioso Rege Ludovico, Ludovici Filio', in *Vie de Louis le Gros par Suger suivie de l'Historie du Roi Louis VII*, ed. Auguste Molinier (Paris, 1887), XIII pp.160-161.
[199] Grant, *Abbot Suger of St-Denis*, p.37.
[200] Rigord, 'Gesta Philippi Augusti', in *Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume de Breton Historiens de Philippe-Auguste*, ed. François Delaborde (Paris, 1882), 30-31 pp.46-48, 53 p.81 and 56 p.83-84.
[201] Rigord, 'Gesta Philippi Augusti', 57-59 pp.84-90.

the later crusades. Interest in crusading did not disappear, seen in participation in crusades beyond the Kingdom of Jerusalem and in the rise of crusade-themed romances, but the fiasco of the second and third crusades meant less attention was paid to them by chroniclers. This is the reason why there are so many sources used here, they are either copying off each other, meaning that they all describe the same events but from slightly different perspectives, or only make short mentions of the later crusades.

In terms of German sources, there is Albert of Aachen, who, similar to Robert the Monk and Guibert de Nogent, wrote a re-telling of the First Crusade. But unlike them he might not have had access to any Latin sources, but rather relied on epic poetry in circulation.[202] What is unique about Albert is the background of his sources and the fact that he was writing outside of the French context, but other than that he falls well within the tradition of the First Crusade chroniclers. Beyond that tradition, there is the most important German chronicler of all, Bishop Otto of Freising. He wrote a chronicle about his nephew, Holy Roman Emperor Frederick Barbarossa (r.1155-90), *Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris*, which was completed by the monk Rahewin after his death. The chronicle ends before the death of Frederick on his way to crusade but does include the Second Crusade, with very limited descriptions of Saracens. Other than a quick mention that Edessa had fallen in 1144, it focuses more on the religious preaching of the crusades and the theological debate in German lands.[203] The emphasis on the local means that there is a lot on the persecution of Jews in Europe as part of the crusades, but hardly anything on the Saracens. There is also a continuation of the chronicle by Otto of St Blasien (d.1223), which provides an account of the death of Frederick Barbarossa as well as the continued German

[202] Susan B. Edgington., 'Introduction', *Albert of Aachen Historia Ierosolimitana: History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, ed. and trans. Susan B. Edgington (Oxford, 2007), pp.xxvi-xxviii.
[203] Otto of Freising, *Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, I:38-40 p.74.

activity in the Third Crusade against the forces of Saladin. There is a great deal of emphasis on the nature of the Germans, or Teutons, in comparison with the French or English knights in this account, so it does have some potential for further examination. Since these two sources might make use of crusade, especially Otto of St Blasien's continuation, they were not crusader chronicles, but chronicles that used crusade as a part to show the greatness of their ruler and realm. For this reason Muslims plays a very small role in the chronicle of Otto of Freising, although it is an interesting contrast to other sources. Since Otto of St Blasien actually sets part of the chronicle in the third crusade Muslims plays a greater role here, but it is similar to that in crusader chronicles, they are the enemy. It is, however, notably one of the sources, other than William of Tyre, who spends a great deal of attention on Saladin, which will be discussed in Chapter Three.

What is notable about all of these sources is that despite the role of the Saracen as the primary enemy in the Holy Land, other than the eyewitnesses of the First Crusade none of these chroniclers seem to be particularly concerned with describing them in any detail, despite their central role. On the whole the depiction of Saracens is relatively similar across these sources. Regardless of whether it was the writer of the *Gesta Francorum*, who believed that Saracens were pagans despite actually facing them, or Guibert de Nogent, a far distant theologian with knowledge of Islam, the Saracens themselves remain a large, faceless enemy. They were not as courageous as the Christian knights, yet brave and skilled enough to be a worthy enemy. While some of the Saracen leaders are named, and will be discussed in later chapters, the emphasis was on the brave deeds of the crusaders and their religious motivations. Even with Fulcher, who wrote extensively about the foundation of the Crusader States where alliances with Saracens were necessarily, the Saracens are hardly mentioned after the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099. In fact, all of these sources tend

to have more to say about other people, such as the Greeks or Armenians, or even the other Latin groups, than the Saracens. For this reason, and that these texts have been given a lot more emphasis in the scholarship, the continental material best serves as a contrast to the other three regions, since there was more direct contact with the Islamic world elsewhere. The Saracens had more diverse roles in the sources from areas with more contact with them.

Conclusion

The relationship between Latin Christianity and Islam clearly differed a lot depending on the socio-cultural and political context of the particular territory in question. Just as those living in England like knew more about the Welsh than those living in Iberia, those in Iberia knew more about the Saracens. The importance of the crusader movement did, however, mean that ideas about Saracens were disseminated across Western Europe. The different levels of interaction therefore had an impact on how Saracens were represented both because of what they knew about the Saracens, but also how their relationship functioned. The chronicles outlined have been chosen to represent those particular regions, and will be compared and contrasted in the following chapters in order to form a full and nuanced picture of how Saracen men were portrayed in the medieval Latin world. Brian A. Catlos has concluded on the basis of actual violent events that there was less understanding and more aggression against Muslims in the Northern half of Europe.[204] The sources here show that this also reflected in how they were written about. While they were often antagonists in the sources from the three frontier regions, as will be

[204] Catlos, *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom*, pp.344-345.

discussed in the chapters of this thesis they not only played less diverse roles, they were often described as less human. This shows that while representations might on their own be abstract, they do reflect, and perhaps even influence, how people treat each other.

Chapter 2. Saracens, Pagans and Moabites

Introduction

There are certain identities that are considered by society to be fixed, and some that are more changeable. Which of these identities are fixed and which are fluid are, however, different, depending on who is interpreting them. Identities are important for how humans view themselves and interpret the people around them, making their need to be stable important. Yet, it is clear that they shift and change, both in how an individual changes throughout their life and in how societal changes can modify how particular identities are viewed. This is, of course, not something unique to our modern society, but an aspect of the human experience, and something that needs to be considered when looking at people in the past. Not only were identities different and viewed in a different way, the categories themselves were shaped in different ways, especially as there was an idea of the Latin Christian as an identity being formed at the turn of the twelfth century. Part of why this idea was forming was the crusading movement, and while the idea of a Latin identity was far from fixed, the notion that they were different from the Saracens was clear.[205] While identity in terms of masculinity will play an equal role to that of ethnicity in later chapters, here the *gens* of the Muslims will specifically be examined, in order to determine how they were conceptualised by Latin writers from across these sources. They can in general be placed into three different categories. Firstly religious terms, meaning terms specifically used to denote Muslims, often of different ethnicities, of which Saracen most often was

[205] Sharon Kinoshita, *Medieval Boundaries: Rethinking Difference in Old French Literature* (Philadelphia, 2006), p.29.

used, will be discussed. When considering medieval Muslims the term 'Saracen' is key. What that term meant, how that meaning might have been interpreted and how that changed during the twelfth century, as well as other terms used to denote Muslims or those believed to be Muslim needs to be considered. Following this discussion, derogatory terms, both religious ones, such as pagan or idolater, and non-religious derogatory terms, most commonly barbarian, will be examined. Finally specific ethnic terms, such as Turk, Persian or Babylonian will be investigated in terms of etymology and historical knowledge. All of these categories need to be examined, both in terms of the meaning of the words and their usage.

There was not one universal term in Latin writing. The types of terms used can reveal things about the author, such as if the terms were derogatory or more neutral depending on the background of the writer. It can reveal the religious views of the author, but also their knowledge about people outside the Latin world. Medieval Muslims were no more a single group of people than medieval Christians were. The Shi'ite and Sunni division was developing in the Central Middle Ages, but there were also ethnic divisions. With Muslims living in Iberia and Ghana in the West, and Malaysia in the East, the religion encompassed a multitude of different people. The Latin knowledge of this was in many cases lacking, and many did not differentiate between different ethnic groups among the Muslims. Here, that language, ethnicity and religion all intersected in the medieval concept *gens* must be remembered. To be a Frank did not only mean to bear an identity informed by language and geography, it also brought with it a Christian identity. To be a Turk might have been a more specific ethnic term, but it still brought with it the connotation of being a Muslim. In the various sources from different regions there are different terms used, revealing different attitudes and different levels of knowledge.

Religious Terms

Sarracenus, Saracen, is generally accepted as the most common term used to describe Muslims, but it was not the only term, and the meaning of the word is not always clear.[206] First of all, *Sarraceni* did not originally mean Muslims, since it predates Muhammad (c.570-632). Historians have theorised that it was a Roman term to describe nomadic tribes on the Arabian Peninsula, found from the second century in Latin sources, but possibly deriving from older usage.[207] Therefore, it was not originally a religious term but an ethnic one and, if there were any religions associated with it, they would not have included Islam. While the potential root of the word, according to Katharine Scare Beckett, might have either been an Arabic word for 'East', the name of a tribe, or a place name, early Christian writers tried to find its etymology in biblical history.[208] The earliest to do so was Jerome (d. 420), who associated the name with Abraham and Sarah, although he might have derived the idea from Eusebius.[209] This was later promoted by Isidore of Seville (d. 640), creating the medieval context of the word *Sarraceni*, and its connection with the terms *Agareni*, Hagarenes and *Ismaelitae*, Ishmaelites.[210] Isidore died shortly after Muhammad (d.632), when the Islamic realms had yet to move beyond the Middle East, making it unlikely that he had enough knowledge about Islam to equate these terms with the reality of Muslims.

[206] Akbari, *Idols in the East*, p.113.
[207] Comfort, 'The Literary Rôle of the Saracens in the French Epic', p.629; Beckett, *Anglo-Saxon Perceptions of the Islamic World*, pp.93-94; *The* Etymologies *of Isidore of Seville*, eds. and trans. Stephen A. Barney, W.J. Lewis, J.A. Beach and Olof Berghof (Cambridge, 2009), IX.ii.6 p.195 and IX.ii.57 p.195.
[208] Beckett, *Anglo-Saxon Perceptions of the Islamic World*, p.93.
[209] Beckett, *Anglo-Saxon Perceptions of the Islamic World*, pp.90-95; Jubb, 'The Crusaders' Perceptions of their Opponents', p.228.
[210] Tolan, *Saracens*, p.10.

The general idea in this etymological interpretation was that the people they referred to were descendants of Abraham and Hagar's son, Ishmael, hence the terms *Agareni* and *Ismaelitae*. According to Christianity and Judaism, when Sarah was unable to bear children she told her husband to instead have a son with the slave girl Hagar but, after the birth of Ishmael, God gave the now elderly Abraham and Sarah the ability to have a son, who was named Isaac.[211] Isaac played a significant role in the two earlier Abrahamic faiths, serving as an important prophet and the ancestor of later leading figures such as Moses and, in Christianity, Joseph, thereby linking him to Jesus. Meanwhile, Ishmael and his mother were driven away, creating the line of Ishmaelites. The reason Jerome and Isidore gave for those who in fact were Ishmaelites calling themselves Saracens was that they were trying to claim to be from the legitimate line, pretending to be descendants of Sarah, *Sarraceni,* instead of descendants of Hagar, *Agareni*.[212] It should also be noted that the Bible portrays Ishmael and his descendants as negative figures, as opposed to the line of Isaac.[213] This meant that even before the issues of medieval conflict, the terms themselves had a negative status.

Many of the roles of Ishmael and Isaac are reversed in the Qur'an, compared to the Bible and Torah. It is Ishmael whom God tells Abraham to sacrifice in order to test his faith, whereas it is Isaac in the Torah and Bible, and Ishmael takes the role of the good son. Despite this, the role of ancestor to Moses and one of the main lines of prophets is still held by Isaac, although the connection to Jesus is through Mary, rather than Joseph. This is important because, although Islam does not support the belief that Jesus was the son of

[211] Genesis 16:1-16 and 17:15-22.
[212] Tolan, *Saracens*, p.10; Beckett, *Anglo-Saxon Perceptions of the Islamic World*, pp.94-95; Etymologies *of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge, 2009), IX.ii.6 p.195.
[213] Genesis, 16:11-12.

God, the belief that Jesus was born to a virgin is there. Mary is a very important figure in Islam, and she features more heavily in the Qur'an than the Bible, with a whole Sura dedicated to her.[214] This meant that while Isaac's role was only limited in favour of Ishmael in their own lifetime, he was still the father of the great line of prophets. But Ishmael had taken on an even more important role, he was the ancestor of the final and greatest prophet, Muhammad, and his placement in Mecca by Abraham justified why Muhammad was born where he was. This created a close link between the first Muslims and Old Testament history. This link between the Arabs and Ishmael, which existed in the early Islamic world, is partly because of its close relationship with the Judaic minority when it developed.[215] This might explain why the idea of the sons of Abraham held a central role in early Islam. The Judeo-Christian narrative of Isaac and Sarah as the true family of Abraham with Ishmael and Hagar as the outcasts and ancestors of the less important Arabs meant that the Arabs could flip the narrative, claiming an important role from the time of Abraham.

The word *Sarraceni* was more about Sarah, while *Agareni* or *Ismaelitae* might have been more appropriate for the narrative about Hagar and Ishmael. But textual evidence shows that Saracen became the most commonly used term as time passed. A search on *Patrologia Latina*, a large 217 volume collection of writings from ecclesiastical writers from the early church fathers to 1216, published by Jacques-Paul Migne from 1862 to 1865 and now digitised, comes up with seventy-two uses of *Agareni* or variations of the word, 675 uses of *Ismaelitae* or variations, and 2489 uses of *Sarraceni* or its variations.[216] It is difficult

[214] Sura 19.
[215] Jonathan P. Berkey, *The Formation of Islam: Religion and Society in the Near East, 600-1800* (Cambridge, 2003), pp.65-67.
[216] *Patrologia Latina*, [http://pld.chadwyck.co.uk/] (last accessed 16 May 2018).

to find any evidence as to why Saracen became the most common term but perhaps it was in circulation before this connection with Ishmael and Hagar. Older ethnic terms might have had something to do with it. *Sarracenus* is here categorised as a religious term, because it was used to describe all followers of Islam, but these distinctions were not as cut and dried in the medieval context. While the term *Sarracenus* itself has ethnic roots in the Roman era, the word did change meaning over time. By the twelfth century, it tended to refer to people who could in most cases be identified as Muslims. Due to the occasional conflation between Muslims and pagans in both romances and chronicles, it was both linked to heresy and paganism depending on the context.[217] It should also be considered that Islam later held a special role in its opposition to the Christian world. In its early days Saracens were merely counted as one of many invading groups, along with Vikings and Magyars, also linked with paganism.[218] This conflation between groups remained and *Sarraceni*, while most often linked with Muslims, was – at least in *chansons de geste* – also applied to other pagan enemies of Christendom.[219] With earlier sources making this conflation this is not very surprising, but it can create issues when dealing with the terminology. But, when thinking about the twelfth century, it is clear that the term *Sarracenus*, although shifting in precise meaning, always contained the notion of not being Christian. It might, however, not always mean 'Muslim', even if it often did.

Moving on to what these specific sources say, almost all of them use the term Saracen. Most of these examples come from the Mediterranean, as in the *Historia Roderici*, where the term *Sarraceni* is clearly used to denominate all Muslims, regardless of

[217] Blanks and Frassetto, 'Introduction', p.3; Tolan, *Saracens*, pp.109-110
[218] Matthew Bennett, 'First Crusaders' Images of Muslims: The Influence of Vernacular Poetry', in *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 22:2 (1986), p.102; Tolan, *Saracens*, pp.75-77.
[219] Herman, 'Some Functions of Saracen', p.427; Bennett, 'First Crusades' Images of Muslims', p.102; Jubb, 'Crusaders' Perceptions of their Opponents', p.228.

ethnicity, on a number of occasions. *Historia Roderici* also uses the term *Ismaelitae* a couple of times, alongside the *Moabitae*, which would indicate that *Sarraceni* denoted people who were Muslims, but not specifically Almoravids.[220] By modern definitions, the Muslims of the Iberian Peninsula, before the Almoravid invasion, were a mix of Amazighs and Arabs, ruled by Arabic dynasties, but the Almoravids were an Amazigh dynasty. Throughout the text the term *Sarraceni* is used to denote the Muslims of the fragmented al-Andalus. The text also refers to 'all the Saracens who lived across the seas'[221] when discussing the Almoravids, considering them as *Sarraceni*. There are, however, other terms used to describe the Almoravids specifically, *barbari* and *Moabitae* (discussed below). These terms are reserved for the Almoravids who, while considered as part of the *Sarraceni* as a whole, were also clearly distinct.

Other Latin sources from the Iberian Peninsula do, however, use different terms, seen in the earlier short account of El Cid, *Carmen Cantar Campedoctoris*, which in one instance uses the word *gentes*, and in the context of the previous paragraph it clearly refers to his Muslim allies.[222] There is also some etymological evidence that *gente*s could by used to describe non-Christian, at least in British sources.[223] Overall, *Sarraceni* appears to be the most commonly used term to describe all Muslims, although if *Carmen Cantar Campedoctoris* is representative it might not have been considered a poetic term, at least not in the Iberian context. The same can be found in *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, which

[220] 'Historia Roderici vel Gesta Roderici Campidocti', in *Chronica Hispana Saecvli XII*, edited by Emma Falque, Juan Gil and Antonio Maya (Turnholt, 1990), ch. 62 p.88 and ch. 66 p.91: here '*Hysmaelitarum*' and '*Hysmahelitis*'.
[221] 'Historia Roderici', in *The World of El Cid: Chronicles of the Spanish Reconquest*, eds. and trans. Simon Barton and Richard Fletcher (Manchester, 2000), ch.75 p.146; 'Historia Roderici vel Gesta Roderici Campidocti', ch. 75, p.98: 'omnes Sarraceni, qui in partibus <trans>marinis habitanbant'
[222] Wright, 'First Poem on the Cid', p.215.
[223] R.E. Latham, D.R. Howlett and R.K. Ashdowne, *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, 17 fascicules (Oxford, 1975-2013): 'Gentes', defn. 5.

ends with a poem about Alfonso VII's 1147 Almería campaign, *The Poem of Almería*. The campaign was part of the *Reconquista* and this is clear in the source since it tells of *Franci* joining the expedition.[224] In the poem, the term *Mauri*, Moor, is used to describe the Muslims, alongside *Moabitae* throughout. In the rest of the chronicle *Moabitae* is used, but there is not a single use of *Mauri*. Instead *Sarraceni* is used, a term which is not used in the *Poem of Almería*. The author was most likelythe same for the whole source, meaning that the change of term was probably stylistic.[225] That both of these poems avoid the use of the term *Sarraceni* would indicate that it was not considered appropriate in a poetic context, instead electing to use *Mauri*. As for the term *Mauri*, there are no uses of this in the other Latin narrative sources and one has to turn to the Catalan *Cantar de Mio Cid*, where *Moro* is used throughout.

While the etymology of *Sarraceni* has been outlined above, the term *Mauri* was also of Roman origin, pointing to the people of the imperial region Mauretania, and in the Middle Ages it came to describe people of dark skin.[226] This visual component to the word might have influence why one term appears to have been considered poetic while the *Sarraceni* was not, but if there is more history to this it may be found in earlier Iberian poetry. Today 'Moor' is the term many associate with the Muslims of the Iberian Peninsula. That it is not used in these Latin chronicles is therefore surprising, with the term *Sarraceni* more common in this context. *Sarraceni* functioned as a term to denote all Muslims regardless of ethnicity. The term *Ismaelitae*, had a similar function, but in these particular sources it is only used to denote the non-Moabite Muslims. This means that while the

[224] 'Prefatio de Almería', in *Chronica Hispana Saeculi XII*, eds. Emma Falque, Juan Gil and Antonia Maya (Turnholt, 1990), p.255.
[225] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris', in *Chronica Hispana Saeculi XII*, eds. Emma Falque, Juan Gil and Antonia Maya (Turnholt, 1990), p.161.
[226] *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*: 'maurus'.

original etymology might have made the world function the the same way as *Sarraceni*, the fact that the context required a term to describe the Muslims who were not members to the alien Almoravid threat, meant that the meaning of the word shifted in these sources.

Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris also makes use of the term Saracen and here it does seem to mean Muslim. One example of this is the depiction of 'Alī b. Yusuf (d.1143), then ruler of the Almoravids: 'King 'Alī, who was the most powerful among the Saracens'.[227] *Sarraceni* here is not meant to mean the Almoravids since, just like in *Historia Roderici*, they are called *Moabitae*. This makes the most logical translation of the word 'Muslims'. The Iberian sources also use the term *Agareni* frequently but this has a more specific meaning: the non-Almoravid Andalusian Saracens. This distinction is very clear in the text, since certain *Agareni* are among Alfonso's allies against the Almoravids.[228] *Agareni* has therefore here transformed into something akin to an ethnic group, although the Muslims of medieval Iberia were a mix of Arabs and primarily people of Amazigh descent, but they were still seen, even by the Latins at the time, as clearly distinct from the new invaders. If the terms were meant only to denote the Arabs of al-Andalus, this is not made clear. This is, of course, not surprising considering the close ties across the frontier, the abundance of Christian knights who had served at the t*aifa* courts, like Rodrigo Díaz, and the ongoing alliances between these and the Christian courts against both internal and external enemies. Overall, the chronicle appears to make a similar use of the word *Sarraceni* as *Historia Roderici*, but *Agareni* appears to have gone the same route as *Ismaelitae*, meaning specific groups of *Sarraceni*.

[227] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:1 p.204; 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (1990), II:1 p.195: 'rex Ali maximus Sarracenorum'.
[228] Examples for this can be found at 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (1990), I:27 pp.162-163 and II:93-94 pp.239-241.

Geoffrey Malaterra's *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii* from the late eleventh century uses the word Saracen to describe the Muslims of southern Italy and Sicily, but also uses ethnic terms to differentiate the Sicilian *Sarraceni* from those from North Africa, showing the term *Sarraceni* again used as an umbrella term for all Muslims. At times it can be difficult to identify who is Christian and who is Muslim among the diverse people of Sicily, especially when the text discusses groups rather than individuals, but sometimes it is noted. When the city of Catania, under early Norman rule, led by Muslim leaders who were loyal to the Normans with a mixed Christian and Muslim population, was betrayed to the Muslims opposing the Normans, the *Sarraceni* and Christians are clearly separated in the text. The Muslims supporting the Normans were led by a person called Betumen, clearly meaning Ibn al-Thumna, and those opposing the Normans were led by Benarvet, whom Alex Metcalfe believes to be either Ibn al-Ward or Ibn al-'Abbād, revealing another problem: transcribing Arabic names.[229] Despite the fact that there were *Sarraceni* supporting the Normans the source describes that, after the defeat at Catania the '*Sarraceni […] exhilarabantur*'[230], meaning that they rejoiced, while the Christians were '*erubescebant*'[231], meaning reddened, indicating embarrassment. Since the Normans initially arrived to support Ibn al-Thumna in the civil war, it is likely that not all *Sarraceni* actually rejoiced, so we might conclude that they are all included to enhance the defeat. However, even in situations when Christians and Muslims are shown to agree they are still individually distinguished, as when the citizens of Petralia with a population '*ex parte Christiani et ex parte Sarraceni*'[232] agreed to surrender the city to Count Roger I, it is stated that both the

[229] Metcalfe, *Muslims of Medieval Italy*, p.100.
[230] Malaterra, *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii*, III.30 p.75.
[231] Malaterra, *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii*, III.30 p.75.
[232] Malaterra, *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii*, II.20 p.35.

Saracens and Christians of the city consented.[233] It is clear that Malaterra made the distinction rather than treating the mixed population as one group, even if at other times it is difficult to tell the Muslims and Christians apart. As discussed below, there were also plenty of ethnic terms to describe different groups of Muslims thus justifying the translation of *Sarraceni* as Muslims.

Alexander of Telese's text on Roger II written only decades later only uses *Sarraceni* to describe the Muslims of Norman lands, while those in crusading lands are called *Turci*.[234] It is unclear if Alexander of Telese considered the *Turci* to be *Sarraceni*, but the role of the Turks was central in the early crusading movement, meaning that he might have wanted to distinguish between the Muslim allies of Roger II and the enemies in Outremer. *Ystoria Rogerii* does not use any crusading motifs when discussing the realm of Roger II, despite the fact that the conquest initially used to show him as a military leader, was that of Islamic Malta. Differentiating between the Muslims who were allies of Roger and those who were the target of the crusaders might well have been the reason for this. Even if the term *Sarraceni* was clearly linked to the crusade, the main fighting forces were always designated as *Turci*. In fact, there appears to be more confusion over the term *Sarraceni* than the term *Turci* in some of the early crusading material, notably the *Gesta Francorum*, where the Saracens are included as one ethnic group alongside others, such as *Turci* and *Arabici*.[235] Unlike in *Ystoria Rogerii*, here the mention of Saracens as a distinct group alongside the Turks does not appear to serve any kind of purpose, and instead reveals the

[233] Geoffrey Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger of Calabria and Sicily and of Duke Robert Guiscard his brother*, ed. G.A. Loud, [http://www.leeds.ac.uk/arts/info/125040/medieval_europe_research_group/1102/medieval_history_texts_in_translation] last accessed 3 March 2014, II.20 pp.35-36.
[234] Alexander of Telese, *Ystoria Rogerii Regis Sicilie Calabrie atque Apulie*, ed. Ludovica de Nava and Dione Clementi (Rome, 1991), I:12 p.13, II:34 p.39 and II:42 p.43.
[235] *Gesta Francorum*, III:ix pp.19-21.

lack of knowledge by the author. Listing different ethnicities to show how vast the armies facing the First Crusaders were is a common trope in the early crusader accounts, with some inclusions being biblical or seemingly made up. [236] In this case, the use of 'Saracen' seems to accord with a literary trope.

On the whole the word Saracen does appear to have been the most common way to denote all Muslims in the most neutral way. Of course, the term carried with it the implication that they were non-Christians, and 'other' but it was not simply a derogatory term, like the ones discussed below. There were some exceptions to this rule, when the Saracens were considered as their own ethnic group alongside other Muslims, those to be discussed below. William of Tyre does not use *Sarraceni* in this way, since he lived in the region and would not have known of any group called *Sarraceni*. While he primarily uses ethnic terms, the few times he uses the term either come with the overall understanding that this is more than just the Turks or Arabs, or when he was associating them directly as religious enemies. One example of this is it that after the death of Prince Raymond of Antioch in 1149, it is described that Nūr ad-Dīn sent for his head and right arm as proof of his death to the Caliph of Baghdad, '*maximum Sarracenorum principem et monarcham*'.[237] In this context the word *Sarraceni* also held the context of an umbrella term for the various ethnic groups, but the fact that William primarily elected to use it in contexts of antagonism might also reveal the associations with the word in the Holy Land. The Saracens were the enemy they had come to defeat.

[236] *Gesta Francorum*, III:ix p.20 and IX:xxi p.49; Guibert de Nogent, 'Dei Gesta per Francos', in *Guibert de Nogent Dei Gesta per Francos et Cinq autres Textes*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens (Turnhout, 1996), V:8 pp.208-209; Robert the Monk, 'Historia Iherosolimitana', in *Receuil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux, v.3* (Paris, 1866), III:13 pp.762-763 and VI: p.808; William of Tyre, *Chronique*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens (Turnhout, 1986), v.1 V:14 p.289.
[237] William of Tyre, *Chronique*, v.2, XVII:10, p.772.

Derogatory Terms

Since the Saracens often played the role of antagonists in these sources, religious and alien ones at that, when they were referred to in negative terms it was in relation to their role as enemy. Without a doubt the most common are terms that can be translated as 'infidel' or any other word indicating lack of Christian piety. The straight *infidelis* does occur in these sources, meaning disloyal or treacherous, but also someone who did not believe in the divinity of Christ, so clearly indicating a religious flaw.[238] William of Tyre makes great use of this, for example in the early part of the chronicle, when showing the relief Charlemagne sent to the faithful Christians of Jerusalem living under the Muslims, he uses the phrase '*infidelium*' to describe the Muslim, and the faithful, '*fidelibus*', to describe the Christians.[239] Later, he also calls the non-Turkish Saracens of Tarsus and the inhabitants of the town of Edessa *infideles*.[240] He also uses the terms *impietas* and *supersticio*, together with the word *Sarraceni*, to emphasise the faithlessness of the Muslims.[241] This shows 'infidel' playing the same role as *Sarraceni* in the Iberian and Sicilian material, but with an obvious negative connotation.

But even the overall balanced *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* calls them '*Sarracenis Infidelibus*'[242] when Alfonso VII ordered the governors of Toledo to push the border further, showing the pervasiveness of the idea of the Saracen's religious impurity. Geoffrey

[238] *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*.
[239] William of Tyre, *Chronique*, v.1 I:3 p.108.
[240] William of Tyre, *Chronique*, v.1 III:22 p.225 and IV:6 p.239.
[241] William of Tyre, *Chronique*, v.1 I:3 p.108 and l.1 VIII:3 p.387.
[242] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (1990), I:72 p.184.

Malaterra instead uses *impii* meaning impious or ungodly, to show the same sentiment when describing the restoration of Palermo to Christianity.[243] While the term *Sarraceni* clearly often held religious connotations it was more neutral, and even if *Sarraceni* might have implicitly brought some negative connotation, in these cases the religious terms were used as complements to make it explicit. It might have been possible to use *Sarraceni* alone as a more neutral descriptor, but it would have been impossible with *infideles* or *impii*. They were often not used on their own, the authors also used other terms alongside these, like the '*Sarracenis infidelibus*' already mentioned, or when William of Tyre introduced Balduk the ruler of Samosata he called him '*vir infidelis, natione Turcus*'.[244] Another example of this was Geoffrey Malaterra who used '*increduli*'[245], unbelievers, before attacking Sicily, as well as '*pagani*'[246] several times, which had further implications.

To be a pagan in the Middle Ages held quite specific connotations. It was not the same as being a heretic, as it was instead linked to polytheism and idolatry. A narrative of Christianity's struggle against paganism had developed since the Roman era's move away from polytheism.[247] In this context, the Muslims fit well into the narrative as a separate pagan foe.[248] The idea of the pagan Saracen was very popular in medieval literature, famously seen in *Chanson de Rolande*'s trinity of pagan gods, Apollon, Tervagant and Mohammed worshipped by the Saracens, but it was also seen across medieval literature.[249]

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[243] Malaterra, *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii*, II.45 p.53.
[244] William of Tyre, *Chronique*, v.1 IV:4 p.237.
[245] Malaterra, *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii*, II.1, p.29.
[246] Malaterra, *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii*, II.32, p.42, II.33, pp.44-45, III.30, pp.75-76 and IV.24, p.102.
[247] John V. Tolan, 'Muslims as Pagan Idolaters in Chronicles of the First Crusade', in *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, eds. David R. Blanks, and Michael Frassetto (Basingstoke, 1999), pp.98-99.
[248] Norman Daniel, 'Crusader Propaganda', in *A History of the Crusades. Volume VI: The Impact of the Crusades of Europe*, eds. Harry W. Hazard and Norman P. Zacour (Madison, 1989), p.67; Tolan, *Saracens*, pp.109-120.
[249] *The Song of Roland: an Analytical Edition*, 2 vols., ed. and trans., Gerald J. Brault (London, 1978), v.2 187 pp.157-159.

Linked to this was idolatry. The worshipping of images of gods was prohibited by the Second Commandment, and the polytheistic faith broke the First. In fact, even though not all crusader chronicles call the Saracens pagans, most at least indicate that they were. John V. Tolan has stated that all except Guibert portrayed them as pagan.[250] This was likely due to his writing relying more on the theological ideas of his time, including polemic, while the notion of Saracens as pagans was more prominent in the popular romance tradition. The idea of the pagan, idolatrous Saracen was prominent throughout the twelfth century, and this idea can also be seen in later chronicles used here.[251] For example, in Otto of Freising's depiction of the Second Crusade, he describes the Fall of Edessa in 1144 when 'formerly all the land in the Orient was held by pagans'[252], meaning the Turks before the conquest by the First Crusade, and now again the city had been taken over by *infideles*.[253] The *Gesta Francorum* also calls them pagans, showing an overall tendency in these sources to call Muslims pagans, following the aforementioned post-Roman tradition.[254] This makes the people described in the sources far removed from their real-life counterparts, making it almost difficult to call them Muslims, especially in the crusader sources. Geoffrey Malaterra lived in an area with Muslims and otherwise appears to show a great awareness of them, making his inclusion of the term simply an example of playing into the more fantastical literary tropes. The use of the term *pagani* is more problematic in the crusader sources, since their authors seem to be less knowledgeable about Muslims and Islam. The Muslims described in some of these sources are instead reflections of the fears and anxieties in the

[250] Tolan, 'Muslims as Pagan Idolaters', pp.99-100.
[251] Catlos, *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom*, pp.327-328.
[252] Otto of Freising, *Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, I:36 p.71; Otto of Freising, 'Ottonis et Rahewini Gesta Friderici I. Imperatoris', in *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in Usum Scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis Recusi: Ottonis et Rahewini Gest Friderici I. Imp.*, ed. G. Waitz (Hannover and Leipzig, 1912): 'cum quondam in oriente tota terra a paganis detineretur'.
[253] Otto of Freising, 'Gesta Friderici I', I:36 p.57.
[254] A few examples of this can be found in *Gesta Francorum*, IV:xi p.26, IX:xxi p.49 and X:xxxiv p.84.

lives of the Latin authors, mixing legend with the real life people that had been encountered and often represented as pagans. The term could also be used to justify horrific actions perpetrated against the Saracens, such as the supposed liberation of the Temple of Solomon by the first crusaders, which resulted in a massacre of the civilians hidden there.[255]

The way to identify pagans in the sources, if they were not explicitly referred to as such, was generally through the idea of idolatry. This obviously had no basis whatsoever in reality, and the depiction of Saracens as idolaters is particularly jarring since Islam is, and has historically been even more restrictive than Christianity in terms of dealing with religious images based on the Hadith, even if the severity of the imposition of these restrictions has varied depending on the context.[256] Portraying Saracens as idolaters was therefore informed by medieval Latin European ideas of the pagan. While some have suggested that the inclusion of these ideas was clearly understood by the reader to be a flight of the imagination, even medieval thinkers such as Bernard of Clairvaux showed little interest in understanding what Islam was.[257] This suggests that the portrayal was based on actual beliefs about the Saracens, drawing on historical ideas about pagans rather than any curiosity or first-hand observations. While there certainly was a break in the twelfth century, when increased knowledge meant that Saracens were more often portrayed as heretics than pagans, later crusader writers, like William of Tyre, were less concerned with paganism, but at the same time there was also a greater concern with heresy.[258] In fact,

[255] Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, XIV pp.127-128.
[256] Oleg Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art* (London, 1987), pp.72-75 and 81-84.
[257]Jeremy Cohen, 'The Muslim Connection: on the Changing Role of the Jew in High Medieval Theology', in *From Witness to Witchcraft: Jews and Judaism in Medieval Christian Thought*, ed. Jeremy Cohen (Wiesbaden, 1996) pp.156-159.
[258] John V. Tolan, 'Anti-Hagiography: Embrico of Mainz's *Vita Mahumeti*', in *Journal of Medieval History*, 22:1 (1996), pp.25-26; Tolan, *Saracens*, pp.123-124.

William's chronicle starts out by portraying Mohammad not as a false god or follower of Apollon, but he is first described as '*seductoris Mahumet*' in the prologue, and he is then described as leading the people of the East astray, and whose followers used violence to turn people away from true Christianity.[259] While he is called the first-born of Satan (*primogeniti Satani*) there are no indications that this should be taken literally.[260] To William of Tyre Muhammad was a false prophet, who had created one of the larget heretical groups. Previous historians have done a good job of showing that William of Tyre never called the Saracens pagans, but he portrayed them, both in their role and linguistically, as the ultimate religious enemy of the Christians, following the changing semantic trend in the period. [261] The terms shown here support this.

But the idea of the pagan Saracen lived on in the romance, and that means that the idea of the pagan Muslim could survive.[262] Romances and chronicles were often written in the same context, following different genre conventions, and even if certain authors clearly held more knowledge, it should not be assumed that chroniclers knew more than romance writers.[263] Even among the learned there was no real consensus. Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, who wrote many important treatises on Islam, primarily in order to refute it, placed Muslims in a hybrid category between pagans and heretics.[264] The ongoing view of Saracens as pagans became especially notable in the thirteenth century since there was active inter-religious debate with the hope of conversion. The Qur'an had already been translated in the twelfth century by Robert Ketton and these Latin translations were

[259] William of Tyre, *Chronique*, v.1 p.100 and v.1, I:1 p.105.
[260] William of Tyre, *Chronique*, v.1 I:1, p.105.
[261] Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, p.89; Jubb, 'The Crusaders' Perceptions of their Opponents', pp.228-229.
[262] Daniel, *Islam and the West*, p.10**.**
[263] Tolan, *Saracens*, p.126; Akbari, *Idols in the East*, pp.200-202,
[264] Uebel, 'Unthinking the Monster', pp.275-276.

disseminated by Peter the Venerable.[265] This was at the same time as transmission of classical learning was at its medieval peak and the reintroduction of Aristotelian knowledge into the Latin world led to great developments.[266] However, earlier the level of knowledge about Islam is less clear, and the tendency to fall back on old pagan tropes might have started as actual theories about the Islamic faith, as seen, for example in the writing of Hrotsvit of Gandersheim, as well as the representation of Saracens as pagans in the Byzantine world.[267] From around 1100 polemical tracts about the life of Muhammad, showing him as a false prophet, just like William of Tyre portrayed him, started to appear.[268] By the twelfth century the general understanding of Islam among the learned was that it was a monotheistic offshoot of Christianity, meaning that the followers of Islam were misguided heretics rather than polytheistic pagans.[269] But despite this greater understanding among intellectuals, more generally the idea of Muslim pagans continued to circulate.

Despite the questions raised here about knowledge and the religious categorising of Saracens, the change over time outlined by others is clearly seen in some of the sources here. The exception is the Iberian material, where, although there are clearly mentions of the fact that they are non-Christians, the pagan trope does not occur much. This region was where there was long-term connection and ongoing cross-cultural transfer generating more knowledge about Islam. It is not surprising that this is where Peter the Venerable turned, rather than to the Holy Land, to gather information about Islam. That the crusader

[265] Moran Cruz, 'Popular Attitudes toward Islam in Medieval Europe', pp.67-68; Hugh Goddard, *A History of Christian-Muslim Relations* (Chicago, 2000), pp.93-95; Tolan, *Saracens*, pp.155-165 and 212-213.
[266] Akbari, *Idols in the East*, pp.141-142.
[267] Bennett, 'First Crusades' Images of Muslims', pp.102-103.
[268] Tolan, 'Anti-Hagiography', pp.25-41; Tolan, *Saracens*, pp.77 and 104-109.
[269] Tolan, *Saracens*, p.137.

material follows the general European trends is not surprising, and neither is the fact that the Iberian texts did not, since Iberia's relationship with the Islamic world was close. More interesting is that the Sicilian material seems to follow the general trends. Returning to Geoffrey Malaterra, we find that he not only called the Saracens pagan, after the aforementioned use of the word *increduli* he went on to explain how this was the motivation for Roger I to invade Sicily:

> He perceived two means by which he would profit, one for his soul and the other for his material benefit, if he brought back to Divine worship a country given over to idolatry, and if he himself possessed the temporal fruits and income from this land, thus spending in the service of God things which had been unjustly stolen by a people who knew Him not.[270]

The chronicles from the time of Roger I make no real mention of the religion of the Saracens, and by the time of Hugo Falcandus' chronicle the main concern was not really with Saracens but those who had falsely converted to Christianity. These crypto-Saracens will be discussed in more depth in Chapter Six, but there are some points to note here. The role of the Saracen might have been quite different in Sicily but how they were portrayed in terms of their religion was not that dissimilar from the areas which were less close to Muslims. Perhaps this is an indication that despite Roger II's own efforts, members of the Latin aristocracy were less inclined to accept converted Muslims.

While paganism makes no appearance in the Iberian material heresy does, and the idea of Islam as a heresy might have been popularised in Iberia earlier.[271] Some of the earliest *Vitae* of Muhammad are from Iberia, and these accounts are echoed in *Chronica*

[270] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger*, II.1 p.28; Malaterra, *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii*, II.1 p.29: 'duo sibi proficua reputans, animae scilicet et corporis, si terram, idolis deditam, ad cultum divinum revocaret, et fructus vel redditus terrae, quos gens Deo ingrate sibi usurpaverat, ipse, in Dei servitio dispensaturus, temporaliter possideret.'
[271] Tolan, *Saracens*, p.137.

Adefonsi Imperatoris. Here Muhammad is called a *pseudoprophetes*, showing him as a false prophet, just like in the Lives.[272] The *Prefatio de Almería*, differs again, since it called the Muslims *pagani* several times, clearly indicating that the shift in genre meant a shift in vocabulary into more lyrical language, also seen with the sudden use of the word '*Mauri*' discussed above.[273] To call Muslims pagans was another thing apparently relegated to the world of poetry in Iberia.

It was not only religiously specific terms that could be perceived as derogatory. In some of the Iberian material the word '*barbarus*' does occur, but it is unclear if it actually is derogatory in this context. The word 'barbarian' has clear connotations in modern English, often linked to colonial ideas of lesser civilizations, but that was not the original meaning of the word. It comes from ancient Greek and was meant to indicate those who did not speak Greek, the word imitating what they believed were the sounds of foreign languages. The word's initial meaning was about otherness and, although the notion of otherness and one's own superior culture might have contributed, it could also be used in a more neutral manner. In the Middle Ages the function of the term appears to have been similar, in that it could be used in a neutral way, but it could also hold negative connotations. Shirin Khanmohamadi described the role of barbarians as the antithesis of human in thirteenth-century writing: barbarians 'are unreasonable, robust in body, lawless or ruled by irrational laws and evil customs, lacking the technology of writing.'[274] Some historians have argued that the Saracens were not considered barbarians until the Renaissance, a view promoted by Norman Daniel and continued by later historians such as Nancy Bisaha.[275] Andrew Holt

[272] *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* (1990), II:93 p.240.
[273] 'Prefatio de Almería', p.255.
[274] Khanmohamadi, *In Light of Another's Word*, p.24.
[275] Nancy Bisaha, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia, 2004), pp.14-30.

challenged this position, bringing up the image of barbarians in the crusader sources, for example Fulcher of Chartres stating that Urban II called the crusade '*nunc iure contra barbaros pungent*'[276], meaning that the First Crusade was against barbarians. Holt also brings up individual instances of the use of the word by Guibert de Nogent regarding the Turks, several occurrences in the work of Peter Tudebodus, and other crusader writers talking about the Saracens as *barbarae nationes* but not applying the term to the Eastern Christians or Jews of the Levant.[277]

While Holt brings up many instances in which the Latin word is used, he does not go on to discuss its meaning in the Middle Ages, instead assuming a modern translation of the word. The short discussion he has at the end of the article about how this attitude was shown in actions as well as words based martial cruelty. [278] But, throughout the crusader chronicles, martial cruelty is not something unique to the Saracens, but something that the crusaders also engaged in, and will come into focus in Chapter Four. This makes the argument rest on a shaky etymological ground, and in need of nuance. Also, while Holt does make reference to William of Tyre also using the word barbarian in one instance to describe Saracens, he fails to note that when William discusses the lead up to the Fatimid incursion before the Battle of Ascalon (1099), the Fatimid caliph was angry that a '*populus barbarus*'[279], meaning the crusaders, had invaded his provinces. That raises a serious question whether William of Tyre was willing to represent a Muslim leader calling the Christians barbarians, or if he took it as having a more neutral meaning, as foreigner. That

[276] Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana (1095-1127)*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), IV p.136.
[277] Andrew Holt, 'Crusading against Barbarians: Muslims as Barbarians in Crusades Era Sources', in *East Meets West in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: Transcultural Experiences in the Premodern World*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Göttingen, 2013), pp.450-453.
[278] Holt, 'Crusading against Barbarians', pp.455-456.
[279] William of Tyre, *Chronique*, v.1, IX:10, p.432.

said, it does not mean that historians like Norman Daniel, who took the relative technological advancement of the Islamic world compared to the Latin world at the time to show that the Latin world could not consider the Saracens as barbarians, reflected the whole truth either. There was clearly an idea in the medieval Latin world that was similar to the modern idea of the barbarian, as shown by Khanmohamadi, but that it was always denoted by the term '*barbarus*' is not equally clear.[280]

To get a better picture of how the word *barbarus* was used it is useful to look at the German and Iberian sources from the same time. Otto of Freising does not use the word in relation to any Muslims, but he describes the Hungarians as 'of disgusting aspect, with deep-set eyes and short stature. They are barbarous and ferocious in their habits and language'.[281] The indication here is that the word *barbari* has a negative connotation. *Historia Roderici* uses the term a couple of times both in reference to the Almoravids, rather than the Muslims in general.[282] These uses, *barbaras Sarracenorum gentes* and *barbare gentes*, taken alongside the already stated conclusion that this source treated the word *Sarraceni* as meaning Muslim, indicates that this was specifically aimed at the new invaders. This suggests that the word could either signify otherness or be used as equivalent of the modern word because of the source's dislike of the Almoravids. For further comparison it is worth looking at *Carmen Campi Doctoris*. While it does mention pagans, it is only in reference to the ancient Greeks, and the Saracens are called *mauri*, *gentes* and *barbari*.[283] While the first two might seem more neutral compared to *barbari*, it

[280] Khanmohamadi, *In Light of Another's Word*, p.24.
[281] Otto of Freising, *Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, I:32 p.66; Otto of Freising, 'Gesta Friderici I.': I:33 p.50: 'Sunt autem predicti Ungari facie tetri, profundis oculis, stratura humiles, morius et lingua barbari et feroces'.
[282] 'Historia Roderici' (1990), ch.53, p.84: 'barbaras Sarracenorum' and 'barbare gentes' and ch.54 p.84: 'illis barbarus, qui dicebantur Moabite'.
[283] Wright, 'First Poem on the Cid', pp.215 and 217.

is important to see in what context the latter word is used. Perhaps surprisingly it is in a section about Rodrigo's horse: *Equum ascendit quem trans mare uexit barbarus quidam, nec ne comutauit aureis mille*.[284] The use of the term 'barbarian' here is so neutral that the translator Roger Wright has used 'Moor' in the English translation instead of 'barbarian', because the connotations in the modern meaning of the word are simply not there. In *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, at one point the Almoravids are called *a gens nefanda* ('abominable people'), but here, where the word 'barbarian' would be very useful, it is not deployed.[285] In fact, although the uses of *barbarus* in *Historia Roderici* can be debated, it does appear that in the Iberian sources discussed here the term was primarily understood as meaning foreigner.

The conclusion to draw here is not the same as Norman Daniel's, that there were no instances in which Latin Christians considered the Saracens barbarians, nor that of Andrew Holt, that Latins saw Saracens as a groups of barbarian savages in terms comparable to modern colonial narratives. Instead, clearly the word barbarian in the medieval context was one, just as in ancient Greece, that always indicated otherness, but depending on the author could also be infused with negative connotations, although this was not always the case. While ancient Greece appears to have used linguistic difference and inferiority as the main criteria for the use of the word, it should be noted that these cases do concern external non-Christians. It is not the Eastern Christians in the crusader narratives, nor the local Saracens in the Iberian sources, that are called barbarians. We should be aware that, when encountering a word that has such clear cultural connotations

[284] Wright, 'The First Poem on the Cid', p.217: 'He mounted his horse which a Moor had brought form overseas, and which he had bought for a thousand gold pieces.'
[285] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:7 p.207; 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (1990), II:7 p.199.

in our modern languages, we should not assume the same meaning occurred to the medieval mind. In some of these crusader sources there is certainly a concept akin to modern ideas of barbarity that can be read, but not in all of them. What this shows is that representations of the Saracens were complex and very much tied to the idea of them as non-Christians, which made them religiously inferior, although not necessarily culturally or technologically so.

Ethnic Terms

In the First Crusade accounts of the *barbarae nationes* many different groups of people are mentioned. Among them were some groups that we would expect to find: *Turci*, *Persici*, and *Arabici* (Turks, Persians and Arabs). The Turks are, without a doubt, the most commonly mentioned ethnic group in the crusader sources, which makes sense considering their dominance in the region. Most sources simply treated them as a vast enemy army, but it should be noted that William of Tyre made an admirable attempt at including a short history of the Turks, which was limited in its knowledge but at least showed an understanding of their nomadic background.[286] This might also be based on his work for *Gesta Orientalium Principum* but, since that source has been lost, we do not know. Most authors show far less understanding of the ethnic makeup of the Middle East and whether the authors were completely aware of the difference between the groups is often not clear. Their knowledge about linguistic differences and what regions were dominated by Persians, Arabs of Turks is generally unclear, but the inclusion of other ethnic groups shows that the confusion was not only about these larger groups. Also, there was the inclusion of

[286] William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds*, v.1 I:7 p.72.

Sarraceni in some of the First Crusade chronicles, clearly interpreted as a separate people rather than as the umbrella term for all Muslims. This speaks to the early terminological confusion, making the *Sarraceni* a specific pagan ethnic group. More interesting, however, is the inclusion of the other ethnic groups that can make modern historians scratch their heads. There are the *Agulani* and *Publicani* (Paulicians) of *Gesta Francorum*. Rosalind Hill theorised that the *Agulani* were the Albanians of the Caucasus, and *Publicani* was a generic term for pagans.[287] The Paulicians were, in fact, one of the earliest Byzantine Christian dualist groups, well-known as a heretical sect.[288] Later in the text, there are also *Azimitae* (Azymites) and *Curti* (Kurds), with the latter being another example of an actual ethnic group, but the former a bit more mysterious.[289] This seems to be one of the clearest indications of how the writer of the *Gesta Francorum* worked, picking up things here and there without always understanding the significance. The term *Azimitae* seems to derive from the Byzantine term for unleavened bread, *Azyme*, making it a metonym for heretics that was applicable to Armenians and the Latins themselves.[290] Since the actual Armenians are mentioned in the source, as well as Syrian Christians, the implication here is that the author had heard the term, and decided to insert it without understanding what it meant.

While the *Gesta Francorum* is not the only source that inserts vague or imagined ethnicities, it is one of the most prominent to do so, and it did have a long-term impact on writing about the crusade. Since many later crusader sources relied on the few initial accounts, mentions of these groups were incorporated in Guibert de Nogent's *Gesta dei*

[287] *Gesta Francorum*, p.20 n.4.
[288] Christine Caldwell Ames, *Medieval Heresies: Christianity, Judaism, and Islam* (Cambridge, 2015), pp.120-123.
[289] *Gesta Francorum*, IX:xxi p.49.
[290] M.H. Smith III, *And Taking Bread… Cerularius and the Azyme Controversy of 1054* (Paris, 1978), pp.21-35; 'Azymes', in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan (Oxford, 1991), v.1 p.241.

per Francos, and Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana* and the latter also included the *Candei* and *Medi* (Medes).[291] While *Candei* is another mysterious group, *Medi* is an example of using the Bible to find the names for the relevant tribes in the region, as they are mentioned many times in the Old Testament.[292] That the crusaders actually came across the Medes seems unlikely. Although many Kurds today claim to be the descendants of the Medes, there is little historical research to verify this and it is unclear whether this was an idea in the twelfth century.[293] Also the fact that the Kurds are mentioned in the same paragraph indicates that this is at least not the people to whom Robert the Monk was referring. The overall confusion over ethnicities and the use of biblical groups also suggests that while there was clearly an awareness that there were groups called Persians, Arabs and Turks, it was also clear that there were other non-Christian groups involved. The question arises as to how much knowledge about them was drawn from contemporary sources, and how much was drawn from the Bible. This use of ethnicity appears simply to have become a trope in the First Crusade chronicles and one with a very specific purpose: to show how great were the numbers that the crusaders were facing. How few the crusaders were in comparison to their enemies is a theme in all these chronicles, but helped by God they overcame impossible odds. That does not mean that it was all imagined and it is likely that the authors believed that these were the people they were facing. Some of these groups were clearly real people encountered by the crusaders. The Turks are present in all these sources, always mentioned and singled out as the greatest foe. They were the dominant power in the region at the time and the very reason that Byzantium had

[291] Guibert de Nogent, *Deeds of God*, V p.94; Robert the Monk, *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade:* Historia Iherosolimitana, translated by Carol Sweetenham (Aldershot, 2005), III:xiii p.111 and VI:vii p.150.
[292] A few examples are 2 Kings 17:6, Esther 1:3 and Daniel 5:28.
[293] John Limbert, 'The Origin and Appearance of the Kurds in Pre-Islamic Iran', *Iranian Studies*, 1 (1968), pp.41-51.

asked for aid in the first place, making their central role clear. Arabs and Persians are also frequently mentioned and, as shown, several sources included the Kurds. This means that, although modern readers might primarily associate their involvement in the crusades with Saladin, the Kurds were known to be impacted by the crusade, even if only their name was known.

Biblical terminology is not only seen with the *Medi*. Throughout the crusader sources the Fatimids are called *Babilones* and it is really William of Tyre who changes this and instead calls them *Egyptii*.[294] Egyptian appeared in the Bible, of course, making the use of *Babilones* even more surprising. While Babylon was an actual historical city, it is more like that they were known through their biblical stories, where it was depicted as an adversarial place and a site for defiance of God, notably with the building of the tower of Babel, and it was described that the city would finally be destroyed in the final judgement.[295] The biblical references were also not always limited to ethnicities and other historians have noted that some used place names from it. This was a practice that went beyond crusader sources, and was common in *chansons de geste*.[296] But while this practice might seem to be used when more direct knowledge was lacking, this might not have been the case since this is also found in the Iberian sources. *Carmen Campi Doctoris* not only uses *gentes* but also *Madianties*, people of Midian and ancestors of Abraham and his second wife Keturah, whom he married after the death of Sarah.[297] Midian plays an ambiguous role in the Old Testament. It was where Moses took refuge after leaving Egypt, his wife Zipporah being from Midian, but after leaving Egypt Moses was told by God to

[294] One example of this can be found in n.602 on p.210.
[295] Exodus 11:2-9 and Revelations 18:21-24.
[296] Herman, 'Some Functions of Saracen Names', pp.429-430; Tolan, 'Muslims as Pagan Idolaters in Chronicles of the First Crusade', p.101.
[297] Wright, *First Poem on the Cid*, p.216; Genesis 25:1–6.

destroy Midian, and there is later conflict between Israel and Midian.[298] Less ambivalent was the role of the Moabites.

As already mentioned, the Almoravids were called *Moabitae* in all the sources from the Iberian Peninsula. The *Moabitae* were a group of people who not only figured as enemies in the Bible, but had their beginnings outlined. After the fall of Sodom and Gomorrah, Lot's two daughters made their father drunk and slept with him, resulting in two sons, Moab and Betammi, the ancestors of the Moabites and Ammonites respectively.[299] This meant that they were created through incest and they remained as one of the enemies of the Jews throughout the Old Testament.[300] That medieval authors relied on the Bible as a key source is well known and it was a way to explain who these people were and where they came from. Medieval views on writing history differed from today, and there were very different ideas about the use of sources and authorities. Just as there was a perceived ongoing struggle with paganism from the Roman era, the struggles of the Bible were also considered as continuing in the Middle Ages. That the new and looming threat of the Almoravids came to be associated with the ancient Biblical enemy east of the Dead Sea made them a more understandable threat. Even if there was relative tolerance and peace between Christians and Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula compared to Outremer, there were still tensions, especially with a new and powerful force emerging which shook up the whole political landscape. The *Historia Roderici* describes how Rodrigo attacked the Almoravids with such destruction of the countryside that his fellow Christians pleaded for him to make peace, but his actions were justified, since the Almoravids were

[298] Exodus 2:11-21; Numbers 25:17 and 31:1; Judges 6:1-6 and more.
[299] Genesis 19:30-38.
[300] They appear for example in Numbers 22:3-14, 2 Kings 3:1-27 and Jeremiah 48:1-33.

more than a common foe, and this biblical connection provided, at least in part, justification for this.[301]

Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris not only includes the Almoravids, but also the Almohads, who are called *Muzmutos*.[302] This term was most likely derived from the North African tribal confederacy Masmūda.[303] That an actual Amazigh term is used instead of a Biblical one is notable. Perhaps this shows that, while the Almoravid invasion had been a shock and one that the sources show a great deal of resentment about, by the time that the Almohads invaded there was a greater understanding and knowledge about the political developments in North Africa. The Almoravids made knowledge about the Amazigh confederacies more pressing. Rigord, writing from the French perspective, also makes what appears to be a reference to the Almohads, but he calls them *Moabitae*. [304] This is most likely another confusion by an author writing about a people and political situation he was less informed about and perhaps, in Rigord's case, a biblical ethnic group was seen as better suited to be incorporated in his text. It was a term that was better placed in the idea of biblical history, so more accessible than a Latin derivation of an Amazigh term.

In the Sicilian material ethnic terms are frequently used, especially by Geoffrey Malaterra, and not only about different Muslims. Malaterra expressed distaste for any group of people in Southern Italy who were not Norman, as can clearly be seen in his description of the Lombards: 'The race of the Lombards is indeed a most untrustworthy

[301] *Historia Roderici* (2000), ch.54 pp.134-135.
[302] Chronica Adefonsi Imperators' (1990), II:103 p.245, II:104 p.245 and II:109 p.247.
[303] Simon Barton, 'Islam and the West: a View from Twelfth-Century León', in *Cross, Crescent and Conversion: Studies on Medieval Spain and Christendom in Memory of Richard Fletcher*, eds. Simon Barton and Peter Linehan (Leiden, 2008), p.162.
[304] Rigord, 'Gesta Philippi Augusti', 103 p.131.

one, and always treating any honest man with suspicion.'[305] This was also true for the Calabrians: 'The Calabrians are always a most untrustworthy people.'[306] And worst of all were, of course, the Greeks: 'The Greeks are indeed the most treacherous of people.'[307] Treacherous and untrustworthy, *perfidissimus* and *suspectum*, are the common accusations levelled against these groups of people. There is no such general description about the Saracens, which raises the question of whether the Saracens were considered different because of their status as non-Christian, or perhaps that their roles in the chronicle were so diverse that making a general statement became more problematic. While the Lombards, Calabrians and Greeks are in general described as treacherous, the Saracens are described in many different ways. Jesse Hysell has noted that Malaterra only Muslims in his text if it served a purpose, but on the whole only displayed superficial hostility since he was trying to portray them as both allies and enemies, which largely seems true, although it should also be remembered that they were depicted as 'others'.[308]

The first mention of the Saracens is together with the Greeks, in *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii*'s first book, where they are given the more ethnic or geo-political title *Siculi* (Sicilians).[309] Later, in the second book they are also called by the common and more general term *Sarraceni*.[310] But although *Sarraceni* remains a common way of describing them, other more specific ethnic terms are used, such as when Ibn al-Hawwās' army is described as containing *multitudine Africanorum et Siciliensium*, thereby differentiating

[305] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger*, I.6 p.7; Malaterra, *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii*, I.6 p.10: 'Longobardorum vero gens invidissima, et semper quemcumque probum suspectum habens'.
[306] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger*, I.28 p.12; Malaterra, *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii*, I.28 p.22: 'Calabrenses denique, genus semper perfidissimum'.
[307] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger*, II.29 p.42; Malaterra, *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii*, II.26 p.40: 'Graeci vero, semper genus perfidissimum'.
[308] Hysell, 'Ambivalent Images of Muslims', pp.145 and 155.
[309] Malaterra, *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii*, I.8 p.11.
[310] Malaterra, *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii*, II.15 p.33.

between the *Sarraceni* of Northern Africa and Sicily. North African *Sarraceni* are later referred to again, together with Arabs, *Arabici et Africani*.[311] At this point they are both noted as being brought to Sicily to fight alongside the local *Sarraceni*, showing them as more 'other' than the Sicilian *Sarraceni*, even if they are still seen as unified to some degree. This is made even clearer in a later paragraph, where the enemy armies are described as *Africani igitur et Arabici cum Siciliensibus*, but together they are all described as *Sarraceni*.[312] Alex Metcalfe has argued that we should be hestitant to link this too much with the idea of modern ethnic groups, due to the great variety of terms used, but if using more medieval terms it does suggest that there was at least an understanding in Malaterra that there were Muslims from different *gens*.[313]

It is clear that Malaterra could see the ethnic difference between the groups based on geography, while still acknowledging that they were all Saracens. It is notable that Malaterra seemed to have a great deal of understanding of the real ethnic divisions between different Muslims, while at the same time using some of the least accurate tropes about them being pagans. The answer to this conundrum may be found in his approach to writing. Malaterra was one of the most fantastical in his portrayal, using plenty of the literary tropes and wondrous elements found in romances. He was clearly one of the authors who had the best knowledge and understanding about the Muslims, while simultaneously drawn to using the tropes aimed at entertainment, and in order to satisfy the wishes of his patrons. The sections on paganism were there to interest his audiences; other examples of pleasing the audience will be discussed in later chapters.

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[311] Malaterra, *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii*, II.17 p.34 and II.32 p.41.
[312] Malaterra, *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii*, II.33 p.42 and II.33 p.42.
[313] Alex Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians in Norman Sicily: Arabic Speakers and the End of Islam*, (London, 2003), pp.56-60.

Alexander of Telese called the Muslims in the Kingdom of Sicily by a different name than those in the Holy Land. In the cases with Saracens as followers of Roger II they are simply called *Sarraceni*.[314] When discussing the violent death of Bohemond II in the Holy Land, the attackers are called *Turci*.[315] He made a distinction between the Muslims of the Holy Land and those in Italy. Romuald of Salerno, writing later than Alexander, has a similar distinction, talking about *Turci* defeating the Second Crusade, but he also mentioned that Greeks and *Sarraceni* feared Roger II, here showing a more general use of the term *Sarraceni* while *Turci* were specifically the enemy in the Holy Land.[316] At this time the *Turci* were certainly dominant in the region, so talking about *Turci* in the Middle East was factually correct, but it also implies that the local Muslims were not divided by ethnic divisions. This is another example of *Sarraceni* as a term synonymous with 'Muslim', as people can convert to it, as will be seen in Chapters Five and Six. That Alexander of Telese did not want to mix his king up with the main enemy of the crusader forces, and wanted to make a difference between the enemies of the crusaders and the Sicilian subjects is understandable since he was writing from a perspective of trying to glorify Roger. That Romuald, who wrote for Roger's successor, also uses this distinction again shows no only an awareness of the Turks as the main enemy of the crusaders, well beyond the Holy Land, but also continued this trend of not wanting to make that link, even if the relationship between the Christian and Muslim subjects was more tenuous at his time of writing.

[314] *Alexandri Telesini Abbatis Ystoria Rogerii*, II:34 p.39 and II:42 p.43.
[315] *Alexandri Telesini Abbatis Ystoria Rogerii*, I:12 p.13.
[316] *Romualdi Salernitani Chronicon*, ed. C.A. Garufi (Città di Castello, 1935), pp.229 and 236.

Conclusion

There was not one, unified term to describe Muslims in the Middle Ages. Different ideas of ethnicity and religion, combined with different authors' degrees of knowledge about Muslims means that there was a lot of confusion. The term *Sarraceni* is the one that comes closest to being a universal term for Muslims, and it is for this reason that the term 'Saracen' will from this point be the term used to refer to medieval Muslims encountered in Latin sources. Although the term was not always used as an umbrella term for different Muslim ethnic groups, the term is prevalent enough to justify its use in this way. There were many different ways to describe Saracens depending on the context and the purpose of the text, and many of these terms are helpful in understanding the view of the groups as a whole. The confusion in the crusader sources reveals their lack of knowledge, while the use of the term *Moabitae* shows an Iberian need to deal with a new invading power. The use of derogatory words does appear in all sources, most frequently in the crusader material, but some of the uses might again be linked to this lack of knowledge.

To call someone a pagan or idolater was derogatory but, if the author genuinely believed that the Saracens were worshipping idols of Apollon, they would also have seemed as accurate descriptions. More interesting is the use of the term 'barbarian', which seems, just as in its original Greek connotation, had the possibility to be used as either a neutral or a derogatory term, depending on the author. It seems to have had a mixed usage in the crusader sources, but had a more neutral use in the Iberian Peninsula. The most important point to take from this discussion is that, regardless of the terms used, it seems to have been clear to most people that this was not one group of people, but many. Even if the terms used to describe Muslims might have varied, and even if not all groups were

identified, Latin writers were clear that this was not one homogenous group, but one composed of various people, be they Turks, Moabites, Azymites or even Saracens. The clearest use of the term *Sarraceni* came from the areas with the most knowledge of them, namely Iberia and Sicily, and the most confusion and associations with paganism from those with the least knowledge about them. This also applies to the specific ethnic terms used.

Chapter 3. Saracens as Enemies: Expressions of Masculinity

Introduction

Most of the Saracens who appear in these accounts are male warriors and almost all of those named are from an aristocratic background. This is hardly surprising since the chroniclers generally have a strong emphasis on warfare. Overall, the situation is similar for the Christians portrayed, but its impact on how Saracen men are represented needs to be considered. There has been more research done on the representations of Jewish men in terms of masculinity, but since these are primarily based on polemical tracts on non-military Jewish laymen, this might to some degree explain why they were considered effeminate.[317] Jewish warriors were not considered to the same degree as Saracen warriors, and historians have shown that while Jewish men were often described as weak, effeminate, and lacking in masculinity both in terms of body and soul compared to Christian men, this, as seen in these sources, this was generally not the case for Saracen men.[318] While there are, of course, exceptions to the rule of Saracen men being warriors, which will be discussed in later chapters, this chapter will focus on those equivalent to the Latin leaders and knights. Earlier works, generally looking at French romances, drew the conclusion that the Saracens were portrayed as anti-Franks, although the expression

[317] Kruger, 'Racial/Religious and Sexual Queerness', pp.33-34; Mathew S. Kuefler, 'Castration and Eunuchism in the Middle Ages', in *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality*, eds. Vern L. Bullough and James A. Brundage (London, 1996) p.284; Kruger, 'Becoming Christian, Becoming Male?', pp.22-25.
[318] Kruger, 'Becoming Christian, Becoming Male?', pp.22-25; Rosalind Birtwistle, 'Daylight and Darkness: Images of Christians in Mixed Marriages', in *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, 17:3 (2006), pp.337-339.

Othering was not used at the time, and represented as the ultimate enemy. In a 1940 article William W. Comfort concluded that: 'It is evident that the Saracens served chiefly as an objective to which the Christian heroes could devote their militant energies as soldiers of the Cross; secondly, they served to add a note of romance, of the burlesque, and of exoticism.'[319] Two years later C. Meredith Jones called the Saracen knight a 'crude reversal of a French epic Christian'.[320] While Comfort describes the literary depiction of Saracens in a more positive light than Jones, and finds instances where they were depicted as valiant and brave, the conclusions are essentially the same. Saracens were only there for the Franks to have a worthy foe to fight.[321]

This idea of Saracens as the ultimate enemy of the Franks has continued, and historians have generally seen Saracen warriors as qualifying either as the anti-Frank, the opposite of what the Latin knights were meant to represent and often linked with the monstrous, or being a mirror of the Frankish knights, ideal in their actions but lacking in their religion.[322] The latter has often been focused on in one of the earliest, and most famous, *chansons de geste*: *La Chanson de Roland*.[323] While this notion led to some criticism, highlighting some of the more negative aspects of Saracens in *La Chanson de Roland*, it does seem when reading the text that the Saracens are not barbarian monsters

[319] Comfort, 'The Literary Rôle of the Saracens of the Songs of Geste', p.659.
[320] Jones, 'The Conventional Saracen of the Songs of Geste', p.203.
[321] Comfort, 'The Literary Rôle of the Saracens in the French Epic', p.632.
[322] Herman, 'Some Functions of Saracen Names', p.428; Galen Johnson, 'Muhammad and Ideology in Medieval Christian Literature', in *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, 11:3 (2000), p.336; Michael Frassetto, 'Medieval Attitudes Toward Muslims and Jews', in *Misconceptions About the Middle Ages*, eds. Stephen J. Harris and Bryon L. Grigsby (New York, 2008), pp.76-77.
[323] Daniel, *Arabs and Mediaeval Europe*, p.96; Peter Haidu, *The Subject of Violence: The* Song of Roland *and the Birth of the State* (Indianapolis, 1993), p.91; Ramey, *Christian, Saracen and Genre*, pp.9-11; Jubb, 'The Crusaders' Perceptions of their Opponents', pp.233-235; Kinoshita, *Medieval Boundaries*, p.31; Helen J. Nicholson, 'The Hero Meets His Match. Cultural Encounters in Narratives of Wars against Muslims', in *Cultural Encounters during the Crusades*, eds. Kurt Villads Jensen, Kirsi Salonen and Helle Vogt (Odense, 2013) pp.105-106.

despite their obvious paganism, since throughout the text there are many instances of the Christian and Saracen fighters and leaders, including Roland himself, acting in very similar way, and are shown as governing each other using equally noble advisors.[324] This characterisation reveals a lack of, or disinterest in, knowledge of Islam.[325] Despite this, and regardless of whether one interprets Saracens as anti-Franks or mirrors they were the ideal enemy for Latin knights, both in romances and historical writing. Whether monstrous or chivalrous, they were a good and legitimate foe. The idea of the Saracen as the ideal enemy occurred around the time of the early crusades, which is understandable, even if *La Chanson de Roland* at least partly originated from earlier in the eleventh century.[326] Most of the discussion of this to date has been focused on the romance literature, but as will be shown here this approach can also be applied to the chronicles.

One important counter-argument to the idea of the Saracens as worthy opponents, relevant because of its focus on the Iberian Peninsula rather than France, along with its use of a gendered reading, is presented Louise Mirrer's 1996 *book Women, Jews, and Muslims in the Texts of Reconquest Castile*. Here, Mirrer argued that Saracen men were lacking in masculinity, and that this came from the fact that Castile was a conquest and frontier society, in which the Saracens had to be ruled.[327] While this conclusion has some merit, it requires some selective reading of the sources, which has been noted by other scholars, and it does miss out a lot of nuances in certain aspects, such as homosociality.[328] While it is true that the depiction of the Saracen differs in the Iberian Peninsula from that in the

[324] Ramey, *Christian, Saracen and Genre*, pp.9-11 and *Song of Roland* l.10-24.
[325] Moran Cruz, 'Popular Attitudes toward Islam in Medieval Europe', pp.56-57.
[326] Akbari, *Idols in the East*, pp.206-208; Kangas, 'First in Prowess and Faith', pp.123 and 130; Khanmohamadi, *In Light of Another's Word*, p.109.
[327] Louise Mirrer, *Women, Jews, and Muslims in the Texts of Reconquest Castile* (Ann Arbor, 1996), pp.50-53.
[328] Whetnall, 'Women, Jews, and Muslims', pp.536-538.

French and German contexts, the parallels between Christian and Saracen knights also appear in Iberian texts. One clear example is from the start of a battle in *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, where the Saracens and Latins appear to mirror each other closely:

> Once the battle had begun, the Saracens cried out and appealed to Mohammad with bronze trumpets, drums and voices. For their part, the Christians cried out with all their hearts to Lord God, the Blessed Mary and Saints James so that they would take pity on them and forget the sins of their kings, their own and those of their relatives.[329]

Notable here is not only that, unlike *La Chanson de Roland*, the Latin writer shows an awareness of Mohammad, although that is unsurprising for the Iberian context, but that both sides appeal to the divine in a similar manner. These are opposing armies, one Christian, one Saracen, preparing to fight each other by offering similar prayers. There are no pagan idols, such as those appearing in *Roland*, but the mirroring effect remains the same.

What does the mirroring mean in terms of representations of Saracen masculinity? Unlike, for example, the Greeks, the Saracens were generally considered to be good warriors, fulfilling their duties as men in a similar manner to the Christian knights. There are a few ways in which this will be discussed in this chapter. First, how this meant that they could be used as an outlet for the military masculinity of the Christian knights, a worthy target to project their martial prowess against. Second, in terms of their own behaviour, there are also examples of how Saracens behave, which can be linked to chivalric ideals of masculinity, especially in how they managed honourable deals. Third, the notion of

[329] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:26 p.215; 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (1990), II:26 p.207: 'Inito autem certamine, Sarraceni clamabant tubis ereis et tamboribus et uocibus et inuocabant Mahomet. Christiani atuem ex toto corde clamabant ad Dominum Deum et ad beatam Mariam et ad sanctum Iacobum, et eorum miserererentur et obliuiscerentur peccata regum et eorum et parentur'.

courage and cowardice, which had a strong link to masculine ideals and were commonly linked in medieval writing with displays of emotion. Bringing this all together, a couple of examples of Saracens who went beyond being a good enemy will be discussed, suggesting that Saracen men could, to a degree, be used as role models for Latin men.

Saracens as an Outlet for Latin Christian Masculinity

While representations of Saracen knights were similar to those of Latin knights, their portrayal was not only used in a positive manner. As the ideal enemies of the Latin warriors, they were there to be acted upon (with the risk that they could act upon Christians). This aspect of just violence appears across twelfth-century Latin Europe, from the Iberian Peninsula to the Holy Roman Empire. Since the sources are all written from a Christian perspective, the Saracens are the antagonists of Christian knights, and this had an impact on representations of how Saracen men performed their masculinity. The important thing to note is that both groups are portrayed as trying to assert their masculinity in terms of physical dominance and it is their behaviour that is in focus, which is as important, if not more, than their physical attributes.[330] Male aggression has been important throughout Western History, and while some consider this a biological factor, there is a great deal of influence by societal norms.[331] For example, most homicides and violence in the thirteenth century were committed by unmarried men and closely tied to ideas of youthful masculinity, according to town records from France, the Low Countries, the Holy Roman

[330] Gilmore, *Manhood in the Making*, pp.10-14; Karras, *From Boys to Men*, pp.10-11.
[331] R.W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, 'Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept', *Gender & Society*, 19:6 (2005), pp.829-859.

Empire and Northern Italy.[332] Warfare was a legitimate outlet for this violence. Christian men might in many instances represent the hegemonic masculine ideal but in these texts the Saracens are using their masculinity in a very similar manner, even if they more often end up being the target of Christian male dominance. But this was the very purpose of their role. The men of the hegemonic masculinities used their control over women to show their dominance, but also men perceived as subordinate, often men within their own society that were considered lacking in masculinity.[333] Here, the outside Saracen enemy who was seen as following the same model of masculinity, but was of a different *gens* could inhabit this subordinate role, making sure that Christian knights could assert their dominance. This idea of dominance can be seen clearly in the early accounts of the First Crusade, such as the *Gesta Francorum*, where the Christians, despite their small numbers, but aided by their prowess and faith, are shown as victorious against the Turks.[334] The accounts show the Turks, notably Karbuqa, boasting about the might of his own force and even challenging the masculinity of the crusaders calling them '*effeminatis genitbus',* only to be defeated by them.[335] That violence could be seen as a positive force in the Middle Ages, central to knightly prowess is clear and, here, defeating the boasting Turks allowed the crusaders to show themselves as the superior men.[336] These sources use legitimate violence as a force both for religion, and for outlets of positive military masculinity.

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[332] Robert Muchembled, *A History of Violence*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge, 2012), pp.2, 26 and 45-81.
[333] John Tosh 'Hegemonic Masculinity and the History of Gender', in *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, eds. Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann and John Tosh (Manchester, 2004), p.51.
[334] *Gesta Francorum*, III:9 p.19,
[335] *Gesta Francorum*, IX:28 p.67; Guibert de Nogent, 'Dei Gesta per Francos', V:6 p.235.
[336] Kirsten A. Fenton, 'Gendering the First Crusade in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum Anglorum*', in *Intersections of Gender, Religion and Ethnicity in the Middle Ages*, eds. Cordelia Beattie and Kirsten A. Fenton (Basingstoke, 2011), pp.129-131; Richard W. Kaeuper, *Medieval Chivalry* (Cambridge, 2016), pp.155-207.

Similar depictions can also be found in the Third Crusade, as in a depiction by Otto of St Blasien of the Siege of Jerusalem in 1187. During the siege, a tower was taken and Saladin's flag was raised, which made the citizens of Jerusalem lose faith, but 'a certain German knight',[337] roused by this, attacked the tower and killed the Saracens (referred to as pagans) there before he 'cut the staff of Saladin's banner and threw the standard into the mud',[338] thereby restoring the confidence of the citizens. Here, the Saracens are shown as less knightly than in the accounts of *La Chanson de Roland*. They are simply pagans (*paganus*), who did manage to take a tower to raise the flag of Saladin.[339] The hero here is clearly the German knight who, in response to the actions of the Saracens, was able to perform a heroic deed. This deed is enhanced by the fact that the people of Jerusalem were witnessing and responding to these events, making it a display of manhood and military prowess. It should also be noted that this German knight goes unnamed. With many knights being of lesser wealth than some of the nobles, there was a greater need to assert their masculinity through and emphasis on military might, especially when the economic means to support a family were missing. Regardless of whether this was based on a real event or invented by Otto, the representation of Christian knightly masculinity reflected this. The Saracens have clearly filled their role here, the German knight was able to display his manly valour by defeating the Saracens and throwing the standard with the

[337] Otto of St Blasien, 'The Chronicle of Otto of St Blasien 1184-98', ed. and trans. Graham A. Loud, <www.leeds.ac.uk/arts/download/1154/the_chronicle_of_otto_of_st_blasien_1184-98>, [accessed, 12-02-2016], 30 p.6; Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronica', in *Ottonis et Rahewini Gesta Friderici I. Imperatoris*, ed. G. Waitz, *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum Scholarum ex Monumenta Germaniae Historicis* (Hannover and Leipzig, 1912), 30 p.43: 'quidam miles Teutonicus'.
[338] Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronicle', 30 p.6; Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronica', 30 p.43: 'vexillum Saladini truncate hasta deciens de eminecia turris in lutum'.
[339] Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronica', 30 p.43.

banner of Saladin, the physical representation of the Kurdish leader, into the mud, proving his dominance and offering great insult to the enemy.[340]

There are several examples of the Germans or other Latin Christians asserting their masculinity in similar ways**.** Often there is a trio of actors: the Saracen enemy, the Christian hero, and an innocent person or population that needs saving from the Saracen. This pattern is even seen in terms of clerical expressions of masculinity regarding Pope Gregory VIII who, after hearing about the loss of Jerusalem in 1187, called on the whole of the Church and 'strengthened their manly resolve (*virile robore*), and called them to witness, by receiving the Cross in remission of sins. He manfully encouraged them through the word of preaching, that they bring glory to themselves as servants of the Cross, and avenge the disgrace of the Cross, which was being held captive by the pagan, in praise and glorification of Him who was crucified.'[341] While Gregory himself is not fighting, he clearly uses gendered language, as a father calling the sons of the Church to fight. Just before this Jerusalem is also described as a 'suffering mother'[342] calling on her sons to help her. Again, the emphasis here is not on the gender of the Saracens, but rather that of the Christians and a personified Jerusalem. It is also interesting that Jerusalem is not treated as a maiden, often the person that knights try to rescue, but a mother. With Jerusalem's role as an ancient city of Christianity this might be fitting, even if using maiden might have been preceded by the Biblical idea of the Daughter of Zion.[343] Perhaps the most well-known example of a city being personified as a woman in a crusading context is that of

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[340] Robert W. Jones, *Bloodied Banners: Martial Display on the Medieval Battlefield* (Woodbridge, 2010), p.43.
[341] Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronicle', 30 pp.6-7; Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronica', 30 p.44: 'eis virili robore convaluit, subveniant, obtestatur, cruceque accepta in remissionem peccatorum, crucis servos se gloriantes, crucis ignominiam que a paganis capta tenebatur, in laudem et gloriam vindicent crucifixi, verbo predicationis magnanimiter hortatur.'
[342] Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronicle', 30 p.6; Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronica', 30 p.44: 'matri […] pacienti'.
[343] Examples of this is 2 Kings 19:21 and Isaiah 62:11.

Constantinople at the Feast of the Pheasant in Lille 1454, calling on its liberation from the Turk after the conquest of 1453.[344] Here it was a maiden, rather than a mother, who represented the city but in a much later and different context. The one calling for help should be female, calling on manly valour, but whether maiden or mother appears to have been less important. The Saracen, or pagan here remains the violator of innocence in the form of the motherlike Jerusalem, as well as the target of Christian, manful aggression. All men who are 'sons of the church'[345] are called as the message of crusade is preached, and their masculinity is invoked to liberate Jerusalem. The bond between the son and a mother might also have been the male-female bond that was more appropriate for the church to call on, rather than that of the knight and an unmarried woman. This relationship, with the pagans as the target of aggression remains throughout the text.

It is, however, not only the Saracens who are enemies of true Christianity, according to Otto of St Blasien. Later in his account, the crusaders at Acre are shown as furious with the way that the Templars, Hospitallers and Levantine barons were behaving and that 'they were, to some extent anyway, secretly friendly with, the pagans'.[346] After this the crusaders began to act independent of the military orders and 'strove to perform great deeds'[347], resulting in the Levantine Christians growing 'more afraid of their diligence than of the evil intentions of the pagans'.[348] The Levantine Christians 'started a plot and

[344] Johan Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, trans. Rodney J. Payton and Ulrich Mammitzsch (Chicago, 1996, based on 1921 edition), p.302.
[345] Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronicle', 30 p.6.
[346] Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronicle', 42 p.24; Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronica', 42 p.68: 'quondam quammodo secretam familiaritatem eorum cum paganis'.
[347] Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronicle', 42 p.24; Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronica', 42 p.68: 'actibus preclaris admodum enituit'.
[348] Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronicle', 42 p.24; Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronica', 42 p.68: 'plus eorum industriam quam paganorum maliciam metuentes'.

formed a conspiracy with the pagans to kill them all by craft.'[349] Otto of St Blasien explains that this is why Henry II, Count of Champagne, who was the ruler of Jerusalem at the time (his royal title being Henry I), met his untimely demise by falling from his palace at Acre in 1197. God punished him and the plot failed as a result.[350] The Levantine Christians appear to have grown content with their existence in the coastal areas, preferring the rich lives they led there to the harsh struggles of the armed, German pilgrims. Their sins caused them to ally with the pagans rather than fulfilling their martial duties against them and, finally they were punished by God. This example also shows just how impressive the military might of the, mainly German, crusaders was, and how averse they were to even consider negotiating with the Saracens, even though other passages of the chronicles shows them making treaties, which will be discussed below. The people living in the Levant, having given up their martial lives, are portrayed as villainous, which was probably easy to do so shortly after the loss of Jerusalem. Otto is clear here, the pagans should be fought, not negotiated with. The situation is not always so simple though, especially when looking at sources where the border with Islam was a lot closer than for this German writer

The Iberian material is more complex in its approach to Saracens. The approach to masculinity does have similarities to the German source in its martial nature, aimed at showing prowess. In her aforementioned study, this is what Louise Mirrer was pointing to: a hypermasculine border culture, as a result of the constant clashes with the Saracens. Her ideas about the male border culture have some grains of truth and, when looking at the Castilian Song of El Cid, *Cantar el Mio Cid*, there is certainly an emphasis on masculinity in the form of the homosocial relationship within his warband and representations of his

[349] Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronicle', 42 p.24 Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronica', 42 p.68: 'insidias parant […] dolo occidendos conspiratione cum paganis'.
[350] Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronicle', 42 p.24**.**

growing masculinity through his beard.[351] While this account is the most famous of the El Cid corpus, for the purpose of this thesis the less poetic *Historia Roderici* is more suitable both in terms of period and genre, and it also contains many examples of the Cid, Rodrigo Diaz, using his martial prowess against Saracens. However, unlike in the Germanic account, there is also friendship with some Saracens. It is clear in the *Historia* that some of the closest allies of Rodrigo are Saracens, since his relationship with the king is shown as less friendly than in the *Cantar*. It fully acknowledges that Rodrigo had to find friends on the Islamic side, something that will be further discussed in Chapter Five. How the *Historia Roderici* treats its Saracen enemies is, however, also different from the way they were represented by Otto of St Blasien, since even when they are no allies, they are less of a faceless group of men there for Rodrigo to display his prowess on, instead diplomacy and peacemaking is often in focus alongside the warfare, with more aspects of the Muslim rulers and fighters represented. An example of this is one of Rodrigo's earliest military ventures which ends in success, but rather than great land gains, he received a great tribute for the amir al-Mu'tamid, which ended up as a sources of jealousy among his Christian rivals.[352] The Iberian sources differentiate between the Saracens already living in the peninsula, and the invading Amazigh group the Almoravids. But while the *Historia* certainly makes the invasion important, it is another Iberian account, *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, that truly puts a lot of emphasis on the Almoravids.

Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris, more so than *Historia Roderici*, is truly focused on warfare. It starts out with the recently crowned Alfonso VII of León (r. 1126-1157)

[351] Michael Harney, *Kinship and Polity in the* Poema de Mio Cid (West Lafayette, 1993), pp.23-28, 65-69 and 168; Ailes, 'Medieval Male Couple', pp.214-237; *The Poem of the Cid*, eds. and trans. Rita Hamilton and Janet Perry (London, 1984), Cantar 1 pp.37 and 61, Cantar 2 pp.88-89, 105 and 109-111, Cantar 3 pp.153 and 191-193.
[352] 'Historia Roderici' (2000), ch.9 p.103.

conquering the lords who had rebelled against his mother, the previous ruler Queen Urraca (r. 1109-1126), after which he turned toward his main Christian adversary, the Kingdom of Aragón. The portrayal of this is interesting, since Aragón's king, also named Alfonso, was in fact Alfonso VII's step-father, having married Urraca after the death of her first husband, Raymond of Burgundy. Their marriage was later annulled following a long time of conflict, including accusations of the physical abuse of Urraca, and was followed by outright war.[353] During this conflict, Alfonso I of Aragón managed to take lands from Urraca, which were still in Aragonese hands when Alfonso VII took the throne. Although military conflict did occur, it also took church intervention for the lands to be handed back to Alfonso VII but this is not the emphasis in the chronicle. Instead it starts out with the death of Urraca and outlines the battles between the two Christian kingdoms, with continued mentions of Urraca, showing the son taking vengeance on his mother's tormentor but with no mention of the familial relationship between the two kings.[354] This is the initial phase of his kingship, showing Alfonso VII of Castile in the process of becoming a man and consolidating his reign, before he could embark on what was his true mission: the Almoravids.

After his defeat of Aragón Alfonso:

> 'announced that his mind was wholly fixed upon the following: that he would invade the land of the Saracens in order to conquer them and to avenge himself on King Tāshufīn and on the other kings of the Moabites, who had invaded the land of Toledo and had killed many leaders of the Christians, and had razed to the ground the castle of Aceae and had put all the Christians they had found there to the sword.'[355]

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[353] Bernard F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca 1109-1126* (Princeton, 1982), pp.45-118.

[354] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), I:1 pp.162-163, I:15 p.170 and I:33 p.178.

[355] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), I:33 p.178; 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (1990), I:33 p.166: 'dixitque omnen intentionem suam in eo esse, et iret terram Sarracenorum ad debellandum eos et acciperet sibi uidictam de rege Texuphino et de ceteris regibus Moabitarum, qui et ipsi uenerant in terram Toleti et occiderant multos duces Christianorum et destruxerant castellum quod dicitur Acecha usque ad fundamentum et omnes Christianos quos ibi inuenerant perdiderant gladio.'

This passage does two things, it emphasises Toledo and introduces the main antagonist for the bulk of the text. As a result of this announcement of intent, the Castilian armies are described as gathering in massive numbers and heading for Córdoba where they conducted a successful campaign, in which they got their revenge on the Saracens for the death of nobles killed before the campaign.[356] The only real defeat is of a group of knights who, because of greed made a tactical mistake causing them to be surrounded by 'Moabites and Hagarenes', meaning the Almoravids and their Iberian Saracen followers.[357] This depiction of warfare is, of course, typical. The heroes, in this case the followers of Alfonso, are superior in terms of warfare and the only thing that can cause them to fail is their own sin. This is a reminder of the ideals of the period, that vices such as greed could also cause direct divine punishment. There is a great amount of destruction of Saracen lands and repeated taking of land, booty and prisoners, but this is seen as a positive result of battle and the reward for properly conducted warfare rather than the aim of it. The men failing in this are described as 'foolish knights'[358], and the result of this was, other than their deaths, that no one else dared defy King Alfonso VII. But it does set out an important message: it is following commands and fighting that are central to being a good knight. As a good military man, one not only had to be a good fighter, but also act correctly, knowing one's place in the hierarchy. There are many examples of alliances with Saracens in this text, so simply killing them is not met with the same positive response as is found in the work of Otto of St Blasien. Saracens are the main enemies, but that does not mean that they are constant villains.

[356] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), I:33-4 pp.178-182.
[357] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), I:38 pp.180-181.
[358] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), I:38 p.180; 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (1990), I:38 p.168: 'milites insensati'.

Book two of *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* is almost completely focused on fighting the Almoravids, and them fighting back. There appears to be a constant back and forth of destruction and looting, one example of which being:

> 'They would go into the lands of the Moabites and Hagarenes, carry out great slaughter, take many Saracen prisoners, seize great booty, start many fires, and kill many kings and commanders of the Moabites and Hagarenes, and waging war they would destroy castles and villages. They inflicted more harm than which they received from the Saracens.'[359]

The key point here is the final sentence: that the Christians did better than their enemies. While the crusading narrative of Otto of St Blasien could only allow for the Germans to be the perfect warriors, who were only defeated if betrayed or tricked, here the important thing is that the Iberian Christian knights were better than the other side. The Almoravids are not barbarian pagans, but admirable adversaries for the Christians. Similarly, these campaigns were a chance for Alfonso VII himself to display his martial prowess. The Almoravids did win some battles and, in the end it was not only through Alfonso's might but because of the emergence of a new Amazigh dynasty, the Almohads, that they were defeated. This new invasion might be considered negative, with a new mighty enemy, but it is not represented as such. The great king Alfonso VII, or 'emperor' as the chronicle would have him, now has a new enemy to fight on his frontier, which appears to be a necessity for himself and his men. While warfare is central to the account, there is very little in terms of crusading themes, the exception being *The Poem of Almería*, but it is not the only aspect.[360]

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[359] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:20 p.213; 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (1990), II:20 p.204: 'et ibant in terram Moabitarum et Agarenourum et faciebant multas cedes et captiuabant multos Sarracenos et multam predam multaque incendia faciebant et occidebant multos reges et duces Moabitarum et Agarenorum et bellando destruebant castella et uillas et maiora faciebant quam accipiebant a Sarracenis.'

[360] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), p.150.

While accounts of crusading are obviously linked to its ideals in terms of Holy War against the Saracens, this is not as clear in twelfth-century Iberia and Sicily. At the start of *Ystoria Rogerii Regis* by Alexander of Telese, when the young Roger II is not yet king and has only recently come of age and able to take on his role as Count of Sicily and Calabria, he immediately goes to war, which, just as for Alfonso VII, was important for him to prove his strength as a leader. What makes this important for his early reign is that Roger's largest and most significant conquest was Malta.[361] Malta was, just like Sicily before the Norman Conquest, held by Muslims, meaning that it could quite easily have fitted into a crusading narrative, with Roger as a soldier of God. This would have fitted well with Alexander's own narrative of Roger as a divinely appointed ruler, one of the key themes of the chronicle, with Alexander trying to legitimise Roger's later kingship. It might also be because it was written in the early part of the crusading movement and, perhaps Alexander still saw such a conflict being based in the Holy Land and not simply any conflict between Christianity and its enemies. Alex Metcalfe has discussed the Norman campaigns in North Africa, *Ifriqiya*, also during Roger II's reign, led by the Greek Admiral George of Antioch, and concluded that this could not be considered a part of the crusading movement either, instead emphasising the king's economic and political goals.[362] Before this period Sicily had issues with piracy from Malta and Pantelleria, which is probably the real reason why Roger used these as his initial target, but Alexander could still have used crusading rhetoric for propagandistic reasons, which he clearly did not.[363]

[361] Alexander of Telese, 'The History of the Most Serene Roger, first King of Sicily', in *Roger II and the Creation of the Kingdom of Sicily*, ed. and trans. Graham A. Loud (Manchester, 2012), p.66.
[362] Metcalfe, *Muslims of Medieval Italy*, p.164.
[363] Houben, *Roger II of Sicily*, pp.41 and 85.

The fact that crusading rhetoric is missing from the early years of Roger II makes it perhaps less surprising that not much can be found in terms of crusading rhetoric in the chronicle by Geoffrey Malaterra. In fact, even if Malaterra actually had depictions of the First Crusade in the later books, the crusading rhetoric is lacking and instead the struggle is represented in similar terms as in the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*. The Saracens are there to be competent adversaries, not any greater threat to Christianity. One example of this would be Arcadius of Palermo, who is described as a fierce warrior, only to be struck down by Count Roger I of Sicily, demoralising the other troops at the Battle of Cerami (1063).[364] He is built up as the typical imposing romance adversary, only to be defeated by the even more impressive protagonist, here Roger I. This was not a religiously motivated war and care must be taken not to write history completely based on the events of the crusades happening afterwards, since this was a very different context. Also, when Roger I rejoined the conflict on the mainland after conquering Sicily most of the soldiers that he brought with him were Saracens.[365] Again, there is Othering happening with the Saracens being described as clearly distinct from the Norman Christians, especially since Saracens are the main enemies when describing the conquest of Sicily, but they are competent fighters, and potential allies. This was a view that would later become more problematic in the Sicilian context.

Malaterra employs the earlier romance notion of Saracens, originating before the crusades, with the Saracens being pagans rather than monotheists of another Abrahamic faith, even if he probably had greater knowledge of their faith than many other medieval writers. The Saracens are portrayed as local pagans with support from foreign pagans,

[364] Malaterra, *Deeds of Count Roger*, II:33 p.49.
[365] Malaterra, *Deeds of Count Roger*, IV.26 p.132.

rather than members of some sort of universal Jihad.[366] They both fought against the Normans and alongside them against other Saracens, with their status as pagans singling them out, more so than ethnicity as was done with the Greeks. While the Saracens are definitely the enemy and the motivation for fighting them is represented as religious, the idea of Islam as the great external enemy is also not present here. The Saracens are instead portrayed as pagan men, at points savage, but still worthy opponents of the Normans. Unlike the Greeks, who are, as usual, weak and treacherous, the Saracens were worthy enemies who fulfilled their military duties.[367]

The Saracens were generally used as the focus of Christian men exerting military dominance. While many of the crusading accounts certainly have this aspect as well, the Saracens are the ultimate enemy, not just in terms of their martial capabilities, but also because they are legitimate targets as non-Christians. There is certainly brutality in the accounts from Sicily and Iberia (which will be discussed in the next chapter) but, they are presented differently from the accounts in France and Germany. The Iberian situation, which did require co-operation across religious lines makes it understandable that demonization would be lesser. This was also the case in Sicily, which despite being a main hub for travel to the Holy Land in the twelfth century, was known for its large Muslim population that played an active role in the government of Roger II.[368] Crusading was without a doubt important for all of Europe and continued to be so beyond the twelfth century but the realities of the Kingdom of Sicily also played an important role: its multi-religious nature but also more immediate local issues, such as power struggles between the

[366] Examples of Malaterra calling Muslims pagans can be found at Malaterra, *De Rebus Gestis*, II:32 p.42, II:33 pp.44-45 and II:30 p.76.
[367] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger*, II.29 p.42.
[368] Donald Matthew, *The Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Cambridge, 1992) p.75.

different groups at court. This made the relationship between the Kingdom of Sicily and the Kingdom of Jerusalem strained, and could have aided the down-playing of crusading. Saracen men continued to be represented in the later sources, and internal struggle, such as those depicted by Hugo Falcandus remained more important than the events in the Holy Land.

Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris has very little in terms of crusading material, even if there are examples of people going to the Holy Land as penance.[369] This is, however, not the key place for redemption in the chronicle, that being Toledo, which is the focus for a lot of the conflict. This city appears as the symbol of the frontier and it changed hands many times throughout the account. While the importance of the Almoravids is outlined after Alfonso VII of Castile has dealt with all his Christian foes, the importance of Toledo is emphasised just after he has made his proclamation of Empire. He 'commanded the governors of Toledo and all the inhabitants from the whole frontier to form armies continually, to make war on the infidel Saracens every year and not to spare their cities or fortresses, but to claim them all for God and Christian law.'[370] Toledo is the site of continuous war, the role the Holy Land played for the writers of France and Germany. The city and its religiously mixed population keeps being used as a reward, or returned to the king if the governor does not consider himself worthy.[371] In fact the final thing that occurs in Book Two, before the *Poem of Almería*, is that Christians who had been at the court of the Almoravid king returned to Toledo to fight the Almohads after the destruction of the

[369] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), I:48 p.184.
[370] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), I:72 p.194; 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (1990), I:72, p.184: 'Iussitque alcaydis Toletanis et omnibus habitatoribus totius Extremi facere exercitus assidue et dare Sarracenis infidelibus bellum per singulos annos et non parcere ciutatibus uel oppidis eorum, sed totum auindicare Deo et legi Christiane.'
[371] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), I:23 p.174, I:47 pp.183-184, II:49 pp.224 and II:62 pp.229.

Almoravids.[372] Toledo remains the symbol of the eternal frontier between the Christian kingdoms and al-Andalus, where the Christian men go to find glory through acts of violence. However, in warfare violence and death were not always the outcome. Overall the Saracens behaved in a similar way to the Christian knights in battle, and this can also be discussed in terms of the representations of chivalric warfare.

Social Norms and the Use of Honour

With Saracen men being the object of Christian martial masculinity, it is clear that they were perceived as good fighters, although some issues with cowardly tactics do emerge in some accounts, which will be discussed below. However, as knights their behaviour beyond violence was as important. As mirrors of Christian knights, Saracen men operated within a similar system of ideals. The fact that they enter agreements with Christians means that they were constrained by similar ideas of loyalty and obligation, just as they displayed similar ideas of martial prowess. They are not depicted as subordinate in terms of their noble and knightly status, since they display all the prowess and power that was needed to be considered as belonging to the dominant group.[373] But their *gens*, the fact that they were unable to join this group meant that they were still, inherently, subordinate, although less so than other groups, such as Jews. This also means that issues that were crucial for knights such as honour were important and these accounts have examples of this, notably regarding making treaties and keeping them. There are of course other indications of this,

[372] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:110 p.249.
[373] Hadley, 'Introduction', p.11.

for example, where the texts show Saracens treating their captives well, and in *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* this includes their main enemy, the Almoravids.

The leader of the Almoravids in Iberia was the Amir Tāshufīn b. 'Alī, who appears many times throughout the account. Often, he is simply a military foe, who is powerful, but eventually defeated. His role does develop, and with the second book jumping back in time to the initial Almoravid invasion under Tāshufīn's father 'Alī b. Yūsuf, he is seen as being handed the responsibility to break Toledo by 'Alī upon the latter's return to North Africa.[374] This places Tāshufīn as the main opponent of the Christian knights tasked to defend Toledo. Tāshufīn was wounded in battle, with a lance piercing his thigh. He had to flee on a horse which he did not even manage to saddle, and he 'returned in shame to Córdoba'[375] and 'remained crippled for the rest of his life.'[376] Descriptions of injuries and impairment caused by warfare are rare in medieval sources, both in historical accounts and in romances and even medical texts give little attention to them.[377] Patricia Skinner has recently outlined the problems of facial disfigurement in the medieval world, showing that it was something to be hidden rather than to be proud of as it conveyed a loss of status.[378] While a facial disfigurement and leg injury are certainly different the core idea remains the same. Tāshufīn had lost the battle, not even being able to slay his foe, and his body had been irreparably broken. With the link between bodily and spiritual purity, there was also a stigma linked to disfigurement, even if ugliness was considered a greater detriment than

[374] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:8 p.207.
[375] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:23 p.214; 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (1990), II:23 p.206: 'turpiter reuersi est in Corduba'.
[376] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:23 p.214; 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (1990), II:23 p.206: 'Fuit tamen claudus cunctis diebus uite sue.'
[377] Irina Metzler, *Disability in Medieval Europe: Thinking about physical impairment during the high Middle Ages, c.1100-1400* (London, 2006), p.69; Irina Metzler, *A Social History of Disability in the Middle Ages: Cultural Considerations of Physical Impairment* (London, 2013), pp.36-42.
[378] Patricia Skinner, *Living with Disfigurement in Early Medieval Europe* (New York, 2017), pp.41-44 and 49.

impairment.[379] Here it was simply an indication of Tāshufīn's subordination to his Christian opponents, especially Alfonso VII himself. Rather than Tāshufīn's internal moral deficiency remaining internal and hidden, his was on full display on his body.

This does not mean that Tāshufīn was an irredeemable villain. While martially inferior, he is shown as treating his Christian captives fairly, notably the Viscount of Barcelona, Reverter de la Guardia. Reverter was a good knight, placed in charge of the Christians imprisoned by the Almoravids, first under 'Alī and then Tāshufīn. The interesting point here is that Reverter first is described as never having lost a battle, suggesting that he had been sent as a hostage by Alfonso VII to lead the captive Christian knights rather than imprisoned after defeat. Also, when Tāshufīn took over he 'favoured the Christians during his life, just as his father King 'Alī had done'[380], meaning the Christian hostages were held in high regard by their captors. Reverter is not mentioned again until his death, which appears to be from natural causes. His death caused great grief not only among the captive Christians but also for Tāshufīn and his Saracen court.[381] The attack of the Almohads against the Almoravids is described as provoked by Reverter's death, as if having Reverter among the Almoravids was keeping them at bay. When Tāshufīn was preparing for his final stand, he was fighting alongside the captive Christians.[382] While this is another idealised example of a Christian knight, what is relevant here is the treatment of captives. Before the appearance of Reverter, this concept was introduced in terms of 'Alī's view of his Christian captives, showing him as really respecting them 'above all of the men of his own eastern

[379] William Ian Miller, *The Mystery of Courage* (Cambridge, 2000), p.185; Metzler, *Disability in Medieval Europe*, pp.62-64; Skinner, *Living with Disfigurement*, pp.49 and 88-89.
[380] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:11 p.209; 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (1990), II:11 p.201: 'fecitque bonum Christianis cunctis diebus uite sue, sicut rex pater eius'.
[381] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:101 pp.245-246.
[382] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:102-103 p.246.

people'[383], awarding them with titles and gifts. This is reflected in how his son later treats them, and it reveals a couple of things. First, is that although there are many instances of captives as civilians, including a mix of women and children, these captives appear to all be aristocratic knights imprisoned after battle. The reason this is included is obviously to show that the Christian men were so impressive that even their captor could not help liking them, but also because God had touched 'Alī's heart, unusual for a non-Christian. Secondly, in terms of representation, it does have an impact on 'Alī and Tāshufīn, since even if the purpose of this was representing the Christian knights, it required the Saracen rulers to display a level of honour and respect for good warriors, without racial or religious prejudice. It shows that even if these were clearly Others, since they were not even local Hagarenes, but Moabites, Almoravids, they still operated under similar terms of honour and male respect.

This is also seen in the making of treaties. There are several examples of this resulting from the military gains that Alfonso VII made since the Saracens had to surrender and ask for peace treaties.[384] That inter-religious treaties are made is entirely unsurprising, especially in the Iberian context of *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*. This was a common feature in crusading sources and a reflection of reality, since treaties were a central part of Islamo-Christian relationships.[385] What is notable, however, is that unlike in a lot of the crusader material where the treaties are often broken and deals are made with the intention of the Christians being betrayed, this seems to be absent from the *Chronica*

[383] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:10 p.208; 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (1990), II:10 p.200: 'dilexit eos super omnes homines orientalis gentis sue'.
[384] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:57-60 pp.227-228, II:65 p.120 and II:99 p.245.
[385] Yvonne Friedman, 'Peacemaking: Perceptions and Practices in the Medieval Latin East', in *The Crusades and the Near East*, ed. Conor Kostick (Abingdon, 2011), pp.229-257; Niall Christie, *Muslims and Crusaders: Christianity's Wars in the Middle East, 1095-1382, from the Islamic Sources* (Abingdon, 2014), pp.73-75.

Adefonsi Imperatoris. One of these examples requires the defeated Saracen in question, the governor of Córdoba, Abenfandi (Ibn Hamdī), to change sides, and he is not only received happily by the Christian lord he joins forces with, Fernando Yañez, he also keeps his word. The two men who were just fighting on the opposite side are shown as holding the city Andújar in 1146, together for their mutual lord.[386] This is one of the events that the author of the chronicle might have been confused about, since Ibn Hamdī asked for asylum in Badajoz and only later ended up in Andújar, or the author decided to change the events since it made for a better representation of both Ibn Hamdī and Fernando Yañez.[387] The earlier peace treaty with 'Alī, after the 1139 victory at Oreja, did not involve any changing of sides, but rather surrendering the castle they were holding and handing over weapons, loot and hostages, a quite typical treaty by medieval standards. This is all described as happening in a very civilized and organised manner and after this 'Alī and those followers who were not left as prisoners stayed in peace with Alfonso for a few days.[388] After this they were allowed to leave, and Alfonso even sent with them one of his key lords, Rodrigo Fernández, for protection, since they were passing through Toledo, and the rulers there did not wish to let the Saracen hostages live.[389] The comment that the nobility of the frontier region showed reluctance towards treating Saracen hostages with respect has caused other historians to comment that there appears to have been different views of chivalric practices between the frontier militias and the king and his lords.[390] In response to this the king made attempts to uphold proper conduct. Chivalry was important, not just in theory but in practice. The massacres in the Holy Land's crusader context seemed to break these

[386] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:99-100 p.245.
[387] Barton, 'Islam and the West', p.165.
[388] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:57-60 pp.227-228.
[389] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:60 p.228.
[390] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), n. 124 p.228.

rules, but this does not seem to have been the case in the Iberian Peninsula.[391] The otherness of the Saracens in the Levantine context was not true in the Iberian Peninsula, where the frontier was an important cultural fact and treaties and co-operation a necessity. The hospitable welcome of the Almoravids is not detailed but it does bring thoughts of later medieval depictions by Froissart after the battle of Poitiers in 1356, where the Prince of Wales held a dinner for his French captives celebrating them.[392] Froissart's description is more exaggerated in its expression and more detailed, but the principle of treating noble captives with respect appears to be the same, even if the account from Iberia was across cultural and religious lines. The core value in the Iberian context appears to be mutual respect, which made them trust each other and treat each other in a manner suitable to their status. The Saracens were following similar ideas of honour and hierarchy and could therefore be treated in as an honourable manner as the Christian lords.

Returning to the crusader context of Otto of St Blasien there are a few treaties, none of which are depicted as having a positive outcome. The first, which is only briefly mentioned, is after the Siege of Jerusalem with Saladin, and allowed the Latin population to leave for Jaffa.[393] The second treaty plays a more important role for the campaign of Frederick Barbarossa. It was made between himself and the Sultan of Iconium, Kilij Arslan II, securing the passage of his army through Cilicia. This was, however, a 'piece of deceit',[394] and only renewed because Kilij Arslan II thought he needed the treaty not to be attacked, while planning to betray the Germans. The treaty was almost immediately broken, the provisions that had been offered to the crusading army were taken away and 'the rear

[391] Philippe Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, trans. Michael Jones (Oxford, 1984), pp.256-257.
[392] *The Chronicles of Froissart*, trans. John Bourchier and ed. G.C. Macaulay (London, 1908), p.131.
[393] Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronicle', 30 p.5.
[394] Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronicle', 31 p.8; Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronica', 30 p.45: 'in dolo'.

columns and foragers of the Christian army were harassed by frequent raids from the pagan troops hanging on their flanks and acting like bandits.'[395] What is interesting here is that, despite the author clearly depicting the Saracens as cowardly traitors, Barbarossa himself at first refuses to accept this and kept the peace since he could not believe that the sultan would break their treaty. When he eventually found out 'he was enraged and declaring the Sultan to be a public enemy he allowed the army to take revenge by giving over Cilicia, Pamphylia and Phrygia to slaughter and destruction, ravaging everywhere by fire and sword, while the pagans, although they appeared ready for battle, invariably took flight.'[396] This is, like many other things in this account, meant to show Germanic steadfastness against other treacherous groups, be they Saracens, Greeks or other Latin Christians, even if it was in reality foolish, especially since after being defeated Kilij Arslan II was offered a peace treaty, by Barbarossa himself.[397] The modern notion of the knight who is good and lawful to his own detriment does come to mind, but the author is clearly in support of Barbarossa's actions. The Germans are constantly steadfast, which makes the fact that others who are not and who plan on being treacherous, seem especially negative. There seems to be a male unity among the Germans that no one else is allowed into in Otto of St Blasien's chronicle, which contrasts with the depictions on the Castilians in Iberian account. Here, masculinity in martial men was not only based on military prowess but clearly rooted in their honourable actions, something that most non-Germans appear to be lacking.

[395] Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronicle', 34 p.10; Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronica', 34 p.49: 'Preter hec exercitu paganorum latenter immisso extremos agminis abulatoresque Christiani exercitus latronum more assiduis incursionibus'.
[396] Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronicle', 34 p.11; Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronica', 34 p.50: 'iratus soldano hoste pronunciato exercitum ad ulcionem relaxavit totaque Cilicia cum Pamphilia Frigiaque proscripta cedibus, rapinis, igne ferroque utens progligavit cucnta, paganis, licet procintim indedentibus semper tamen in fuga constitutes.'
[397] Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronicle', 34 p.11.

On the whole, representations of Saracen male honour appear to be both a result of the written context in which they appear, crusading in a faraway land or in their own frontier, but also the result of the representation of different modes of masculinity in the sources depending on their geographic contexts. Both are clearly focused on martial prowess and honour, but the way they are expressed is different. The Teutons would not believe a deal is broken until they have absolute proof of deception, and it was better to be tricked than to turn against someone before having evidence of the duplicity, while the Iberian sources show more pragmatism when dealing with potential treachery on both the Christian and Islamic sides. Another aspect related to courtly behaviour, the treatment of women, is also on display among the Iberian Saracens, for example the case of Berengaria, the wife of Alfonso VII. Despite its great emphasis on warfare, the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* has a surprising number of female characters that remain actively involved. Alfonso's mother, Urraca, has already been mentioned, but there are also sisters used as advisors, respected concubines, and, perhaps most importantly, Berengaria.[398] She is described as an ideal woman, beautiful, chaste and Christian, and one of Alfonso's main advisors, along with his sister the Infanta Sancha.[399] The women are rarely shown in direct combat, but they were certainly close to it, an example of which was when Berengaria was besieged in Toledo.

During the 1139 campaigns Alfonso VII was fighting at Oreja, having left Berengaria in charge of Toledo since he had taken its lords with him. Unaware of who was in charge of Toledo the Almoravids divided their troops, with a host arriving at Toledo. As they started to plunder the countryside, like most armies in the account, Berengaria sent messengers to

[398] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), I:32, p.178.
[399] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), I:12 pp.168-169.

their leaders, saying: 'Can you not see that you are attacking me, a woman, and that this is dishonourable for you? If you wish to fight, go to Oreja and fight the emperor, who is waiting for you with his battle-lines armed and prepared.'[400] The Almoravids appear to have been just outside the city and when the envoy read this message:

> the kings, princes and commanders, and the whole army raised their eyes and saw the empress seated on the royal throne in a fitting place at the top of a very high tower, which in our language is called an *alcázar*, dressed as befitted the wife of an emperor, and round her was a great crowd of virtuous women singing to drums, harps, cymbals and psalteries. When the kings, princes, commanders and the whole army saw her, they were amazed and overcome by shame; they hung their heads in the presence of the empress and went away, and thenceforth they caused no further harm. They withdrew the ambushes which they had laid and returned to their land without honour or victory.[401]

Cleary, the fact that they were fighting a woman was enough disgrace for them to give up and go home. The Saracens were represented as valuing a legitimate foe as much as the Christians, and a woman was not befitting. There were other, more pragmatic reasons for breaking a siege such as lack of resources, but in terms of representations of knightly behaviour the author of the source placed a great deal of emphasis on the shame of attacking a woman.

Women as peacemakers, or even as agents to end battles in this manner is not unusual in the medieval context. Women did participate in battle, for example as archers,

[400] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:55 pp.226-227; 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (1990), II:55 p.220: 'Hoc dicit uobis imperatrix, uxor imperatoris: none uidetis quia contra me pugnatis, que sum femina, et non est uobis in honorem? Sed si uultis pugnare, ite in Aureliam et pugnate cum imperatore, qui cum armatis et paratis aciebus uos exectat.'

[401] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:55 p.22; 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (1990), II:55 p.220: 'reges et princeps et duces et omnis exercitus eleuauerunt oculos suos et uiderunt imperatricem sedetem in solio regali et in conuenienti loco super excelsam turrem, que nostra lingua dicitur alcaçer, et ornatam, tanquam uxorem imperatoris, et in circuitu eius magna turba honestarum mulierum cantantes in tympanis et citaris et cymbalis et psalteries. Sed refes et principes et duces et omnis exercitus, postquam eam uiderunt, mirati sunt et nimium sunt uerecundati et humuliauerunt capita sua ante faciem imperatricis et abierunt retro et deinde nullam causam leserunt et reuersi sunt in terram suam, collectis a se suis insidiis, sine honore et uicotria.'

but this was not something to be highlighted, and when noted as fighting, this was generally not represented as positive, but rather something monstrous, that could happen among those morally inferior.[402] One example which has been discussed is the image of Sichelgaita, the wife of Robert Guiscard, turning up to battle in full armour to stop the cowardice of the Norman troops, described by the Byzantine Anna Komnene as an indication of the moral inferiority of the Normans, having a woman dressed for battle telling the troops to act as men.[403] What Berengaria is doing here is similar, but the differences are, first, she is not taking on the role of a man as she clearly maintains her role as empress and queen, and the second is that she is instructing her enemies in their own code of honour. While the portrayal of Berengaria in the chronicle warrants its own study, it is really the representation of the Saracens that is central here. They were winning, but the level of shame they felt for having attacked a woman was enough for them to be 'amazed and overcome by shame',[404] simply returning home, without honour. This is very far removed from the treacherous Turks of Otto of St Blasien. These Saracens were clearly military leaders who were extremely concerned with honour, who could not stand by being publically shamed.

[402] Keren Caspi-Reisfled, 'Women Warriors during the Crusades, 1095-1254', in *Gendering the Crusades*, eds. Susan B. Edgington and Sarah Lambert (Cardiff, 2001), pp.94-96; Patricia Skinner, '"Halt! Be men!": Sikelgaita of Salerno, gender and the Norman conquest of Southern Italy', *Gender and History*, 12:3 (2000), p.623.
[403] Skinner, '"Halt! Be men!"', pp.622-641.
[404] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:55 p.227; 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (1990), II:55 p.220: 'uerecundati et humuliauerunt'.

Courage, Cowardice and Displays of Emotion

While honourable behaviour is central to knights, there were other things that were important. Martial prowess as a core display of military masculinity has already been discussed but tied to that is also the notion of courage. Honour might be a set behaviour, but there were also strong ideals relating to courage that were developing in the twelfth century.[405] There is a strong link between courage and manhood, with it being the ultimate gendered male virtue, similar to chastity for women, which will be exemplified below.[406] Courage did not necessarily mean a lack of fear, but rather the ability to moderate fear and audacity, and make rational decisions while displaying bravery and mastery of fear.[407] Courage's opposition was not fear, but cowardice, and there are different ways in which this is portrayed. Sometimes retreats were shown as a direct result of fear, but other times simply part of a pattern of cowardly tactics. The latter is clear in the writing of Otto of St Blasien, but also the vast majority of the crusader chronicles. The Turks either attack those separated from the main Christian force, or pretend to draw up in lines, only to run away and attack with missile weapons. While this was probably a sound tactic, it was looked down on by the crusader chroniclers.

Otto of St Blasien made a note of a tactic used by the Turks following Kilij Arslan's betrayal: '[they] often revealed themselves drawn up in ordered ranks on horseback as though ready to do battle with our men, but then retreated for they refused to come to

[405] Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, p.253.
[406] S.J. Rachman, *Fear and Courage* (New York, 1990) (second edition), p.299; Miller, *Mystery of Courage*, pp.232-233.
[407] Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, p.251.

close quarters.'[408] Throughout the account, Otto of St Blasien emphasises the fact that the German knights favour meeting directly, and engage in close combat. This might not always be the best tactic, so the choice depended on the prowess and chivalry of the German knights' ideal warfare. To meet your enemy in close combat was represented as the best way to fight in order to show strength and courage. Just as with their steadfastness in terms of treaties, the same thing appears in terms of fighting. The portrayal of the Saracen man is closely tied to how the Christian writers were trying to depict their own knights, in that they were Othered. Their military tactics was one was of revealing them as different from the Christians, and while the fact that their tactics were different was highlighted primarily to show the prowess of the German knights, its second purpose was to reveal how their non-Christian enemies were different from them. German masculinity appears more closely linked with correct behaviour, not just being a good fighter, but one displaying courage as well. It should be noted that examples of these feigned retreats also appear in a lot of other, mainly French crusader sources. It does appear to have been a commonly used tactic by the Turks, but not the Frankish knights, but the representation of this as a display of cowardice is a reflection of the Latin ideals. Despite this, it was a tactic also used by Latins in European warfare, planned and unplanned, and was even one of the crucial reasons the Normans won the Battle of Hastings.[409] The fact that it was a tactic that was in use in Western European warfare, makes the notion that these are idealised portrayals of warfare, where the enemy 'other' was judged harshly, even clearer. The account of Otto of St Blasien condemns the tactic particularly harshly in terms of cowardice. The Germans do not engage in ploys and they do not approve in using missile weaponry when it was

[408] Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronicle', 34 p.11; Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronica', 34 p.49: 'sepius se publice ordinatis adminibus ostendentes nostris equo Marte eis congredi cupientibus retro credebant conserereque nullo modo volebant'.
[409] David C. Douglas, *The Norman Achievement 1050-1100* (Berkeley 1969), p.47.

possible to meet close combat, since they were more courageous than Saracens or even other Christians. The use of cowardly and dishonourable practices was a clear indication of the inherent subordination of Saracen masculinity.

Iberian martial prowess appears to be just as focused on the military aspects, but there is less disdain of similar kinds of tactics. This does not mean that there is no trickery among the Saracens in the Iberian sources; there is, for example, an instance where Almoravids pretend to drive cattle to lure the Christian knights close in order to attack, resulting in the death of the knight Gutierre Armíldez.[410] But, in this account, it appears that both sides are equally steadfast, with the Christians themselves pretending to flee only to ambush the pursuing Saracens, and there are examples of Christian nobles acting in a similar manner without moral condemnation, indicating that these tactics had no negative connotations in this context.[411] What does appear more in *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* are general expressions of fear. After the Christian armies under Alfonso VII of Castile had gathered and started their campaigns against Saracen-ruled Córdoba, 'dread of him [i.e. Alfonso] fell upon all the inhabitants of the land of the Moabites and Hagarenes. Gripped by great fear the Moabites and Hagarenes abandoned their towns and lesser castles, and shut themselves up in their strongest fortresses and defended cities.'[412] After later conquests and military expansion by the Christians Moabites and Hagarenes were 'seized with a great terror'[413] and, just a few paragraphs later, in response to conquest the

[410] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:40 pp.221 and II:19 pp.212-213.
[411] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:16 p.211.
[412] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), I:35 pp.179-180; 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (1990), I:35 p.167: 'cecidit timor illius super omnes habitantes in terra Moabituarum et Agarenorum, sed et ipsi Moabites et Agareni preoccupati timore magno reliquerunt cuitates et castella minora et miserunt se in castellis fortissimos et in cuitatibus munitis'; Also, it should be noted that a section here is based on Judith II:27-27, 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), n.100 p.179.
[413] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:64 p.230; 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (1990), II:64 p.224: 'timore magno perterriti'.

Saracens were 'greatly frightened'.[414] There are other instances when fear is not mentioned outright, but is certainly indicated, such as in the depiction of the early Almoravid invasion when '[m]any thousands of Saracens fell there, as a result of which they were forced by the valour of the Christians to flee far from the towers of the city'.[415] There is certainly fear, and at points fleeing, and the cause of this is generally a stronger Christian force.

It should be noted that in *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* fleeing out of fear is not unique for the Saracens. Like the 'foolish knights', who abandoned battle for greed and were killed for it there is an account, later in the chronicle, when a few knights, who were not direct followers of Alfonso VII, were also ambushed while disobeying their orders and deserting because of greed. When they were '[s]eized by terror, their courage and skill in warfare deserted them.'[416] The Christians who fled to Zaragoza were also described as being in fear after the death of Alfonso I of Aragón.[417] And finally, even if fear is not mentioned here, there is an instance when Tāshufīn was attacking Christian troops with a massive force, causing the Christians to kill their Saracen prisoners, with the nobles of Salamanca fleeing from the camp. The fate was worse for those who could not immediately flee: 'In the morning, once battle had begun, the Christians took to flight and all the knights and foot-soldiers were killed; only a few of them survived and they fled on horseback.'[418] While there might be some regional rivalries here causing the Salamancans to be singled

[414] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:67 p.231; 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (1990), II:67 p.226: 'magno timore perterriti'.
[415] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:2 p.205; in 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (1990), II:2 p.196: 'multa milia Sarracenorum ibi postrata sunt, unde et uirtute Christianorum fugati longe facti sunt a turribus ciuitatis'.
[416] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:38 p.221; 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (1990), II:38 p.213: 'et terrefacti audiatam bellandi scientiamque partier amiserunt'.
[417] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), I:60 p.189.
[418] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:28 pp .216-217; 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (1990), II:28 p.208: 'Mane autem facto, inito certamine, terga uerterunt Christiani et omnes milites et pedites mortui sunt et non remanserunt ex eis nisi pauci, qui fugerunt pedibus equorum'.

out, these are still the emperor's troops fleeing and being killed in flight rather than standing up like the Germans. Fear is understandable in a military context, but how it is depicted is culturally significant.

Fear and cowardice might not be the same thing, but one could lead to the other. Among the Christians it is the foolish knights and the followers of Aragón that feel fear, as well as the Saracens. Courage was displaying mastery of these fears, but being stupidly courageous was not necessarily a good thing.[419] Modern studies of fear have revealed it as the most common feeling related to combat, and its displays are often linked to class, ethnicity and gender, with mass hysteria often being gendered feminine.[420] Rationality in the Middle Ages, and before, was gendered male, and succumbing to emotion was therefore feminising. It has been noted by Joanna Bourke that one issue when reading emotions in modern history is that they are written to display a neat narrative, rather than actual wartime emotions that are often volatile and fluctuating between panic and resolve.[421] The same could be said for medieval accounts, since they also narrativise events, and often follow topoi. Emotions, like shame, have for the modern period been considered linked with cowardice, which can be seen also in these accounts, with the Saracens leaving Berengaria at Toledo.[422] It was not only dishonourable to fight a woman, it was cowardly. Other studies of the First Crusade material have noted that accusations of cowardice were focussed on desertion, not fleeing from battle.[423] This appears similar in *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, where there are many examples of retreat and fear, but it is not necessary to

[419] Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, pp.251-252.
[420] Joanna Bourke, *Fear: a Cultural History* (London, 2005), pp.199 and 217-220.
[421] Bourke, *Fear*, pp.217-220 and 288-289.
[422] Miller, *Mystery of Courage*, p.70.
[423] Conor Kostick, 'Courage and Cowardice on the First Crusade, 1096–1099', *War in History*, 20:1 (2013), pp. 32-49; William M. Aird, ''Many others, whose names I do not know, fled with them': Norman Courage and Cowardice on the First Crusade', in *Crusading and Pilgrimage in the Norman World*, eds. Kathryn Hurlock and Paul Oldfield (Woodbridge, 2015), pp.13-29.

label it cowardice. The Turks of Otto of St Blasien's chronicle use cowardly tactics, while the Saracens of *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* appear to be as courageous as the Christians, but the opposite could also be true. Foolish courage, which resulted in failure could be seen as humiliating, as in *De Profectione Ludovici VII*. Here, near the end of the Second Crusade chronicle, the Turks pulled out their hair as a symbolic promise that they would never retreat out of fear, but despite this they failed.[424] Odo's depiction here appears exoticised, meaning that it was depicted as 'other' in order to show them as more alien, with unusual ways of making oaths. Simply to surrender when faced with poor odds would have been more appropriate, and Odo almost represents the actions of the Turks as comedic, making a grand, but strange, gesture when making an oath, and subsequently failing to keep it.

Other than fear there are generally three other emotions that are on display in these accounts, regardless of ethnic or religious background: joy, anger and grief. Going back to the death of Reverter it has already been noted that Tāshufīn and his followers grieved, but 'Abd al'Mu-min, the Almohad caliph did not only attack, his initial reaction was to be 'filled with joy'.[425] At another point 'Alī saw that he was losing a battle, which caused him to be 'inflamed with a great rage'[426] and in response he started creating war machines. Anger can be a means of hindering fear, but here 'Alī is shown as using it to give him motivation to do something productive rather than to fear or grieve.[427] There were legitimate and illegitimate types of emotions, anger in particular. There were *ira*, controlled and legitimate anger, and *furor*, less controlled anger and more closely linked to

[424] Odo of Deuil, *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, ed. and trans. Virginia Gingerick Berry (New York, 1948), V p.127
[425] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:102 p.246; 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (1990), II:102 p.244: 'gaudio magno gauisus est'.
[426] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:4 p.205; 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (1990), II:4 p.197: 'ira accensus est'.
[427] Rachman, *Fear and Courage*, pp.56-61.

madness.[428] Notable is that here 'Alī's rage is described as *ira*, and the fact he responded by changing his strategy rather than having an emotional outburst supports the notion that this was an example of a Saracen represented as feeling rational anger against the Christians. From Otto of St Blasien's work there is only one time when a Saracen shows an emotion other than fear, and that is when Saladin was 'grief-stricken' (*cum maximo dolore*) by the loss of Acre.[429] Compared to the other crusader chronicles there are few emotional displays in Otto of St Blasien's chronicle. The general rule is otherwise that the Christians have *ira*, while the Saracens have *furor*. An example of this is when Guibert de Nogent describes Karbuqa's mother telling her son about the followers of Christ feeling *ira* to those rejecting him, but in response to the envoys from the Christians Karbuqa's Turkish followers displayed *ferocire*, aggression.[430] Courage is, however, described on all sides, although predominantly among the Christians, and even in the crusader chronicles there are examples of the Saracens feeling *ira*, for example in Robert the Monk's depiction of Karbuqa.[431] The fact that Otto of St Blasien primarily focuses on grief as the emotion among the Saracens is unusual even among other chronicles that touched on the crusades. Perhaps it was needed to emphasise the victory of the Teutons, especially since the crusade in reality had been unsuccessful, or it was a way to award the Saracens a degree of humanity that came with the display of emotion. While they were clearly subordinate to the German knights they were still human.

[428] Catherine Peyroux, 'Gertrude's *furor*: Reading Anger in an Early Medieval Saint's *Life*', *Anger's Past: the Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, ed. Barbara H. Rosenwein (London, 1998), pp.44-51.
[429] Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronica', 36 p.54.
[430] Guibert de Nogent, 'Dei Gesta per Francos', V:11 p.214 and VI:3 p.235.
[431] Robert the Monk, 'Historia Iherosolimitana', VII:5 p.825.

Another example of displays of grief comes from the Sicilian material, in a moment of sympathy between the Christians and Saracens, after the death of Jordan, son of Count Roger I of Sicily and a famous knight. Malaterra's chronicle shows that his death was mourned by the people of Palermo, who were moved by Jordan's father crying:

> The count entered the city, and as he saw his son's funeral rites he was seized with unbearable sadness. All those who were with him shared his grief and broke into tearful lamentation. Many were moved to tears much more by the father's grief than by Jordan's death. The whole city resounded to tearful wailing, to such an extent that it caused tears even among the Saracens, the enemies of our race, not indeed out of real love, but rather because of kindly emotions stirred when they saw the sadness afflicting our people.[432]

This shows sympathy by the Saracens and demonstrations of sadness. The fact that the Saracens are pointed out to be enemies of their race is strange, but it might be to highlight that everyone, including those not expected to, were shedding tears. It should be noted that the Saracens do not cry because of the death of Jordan, or because they sympathise with the grieving father, but rather that they see the Christians crying. This cannot be seen as false imitation, as the text states that they were moved by empathy.

Displays of emotion among men are common in Latin writing, so it should not be taken as de-masculinising. That Saracens cry and grieve are not signs that they are more effeminate than the Christian knights. Indeed, the times when grieving appears are when the Saracens are more humanised. While cowardice is a factor, and one that had a negative impact on their masculinity, the depictions of emotions are not, and are often a positive

[432] Malaterra, IV:18, p.121; Malaterra, *De Rebus Gestis*, IV:18 p.98: 'Comes autem urbem ingressus, ut funus filii conspexit, intolerabili dolore corripitur' omnesque, qui cum ipso advenerant, doloris participes facti, lacrimoso planctu rapiuntur; pluresque patris dolor, quam Jordani mors, ad lacrimas pertrahebat. Urbs tota lacrimoso ululate ventilator, in tantum, ut ipsos Saracenos, nostro generi invisos, non quidem ex amore, sed ex moerore quo nostros affici videbant, pietatis addectus pervadens, ad lacrimas usque pertraheret.'

sign. This makes it especially interesting that the main Saracen display of emotion in Otto of St Blasien's chronicle comes from Saladin.

The Ideal Saracen: Saladin and 'Abd al-Mu'min

Saladin, Salāh ad-Dīn, was one of the most famous Saracen men of the Middle Ages and he is still well known in both the Christian and Islamic world. He has been a popular political symbol for people like Saddam Hussein, despite the latter's acts of genocide against the Kurdish people of whom Saladin was a member. This shows the importance of Saladin as a pan-Middle Eastern symbol.[433] He has remained a popular subject for historians in the West as well.[434] Born in the late 1130s into an established Kurdish family, he rose under the leadership of Nūr ad-Dīn and his uncle Shīrkūh, one of Nūr ad-Dīn's military commanders. When Shīrkūh was sent to Egypt to place the Shi'ite Fatimids under Nūr ad-Dīn's joint Islamic rule, Saladin came with him, and rose to power quickly. When Nūr ad-Dīn died in 1174 Saladin became his successor, leading the struggle against the Latin settlers for the rest of his life. Most famously he won the battle of Hattin in 1187 against the forces of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, which led to his final conquest of the Holy City, a goal set out by Nūr ad-Dīn.[435] This was a major event both in the Christian and Islamic worlds, since the Christians had held the city from 1099. Soon after the news began to spread in the West about Saladin's actions in the city. While the 1099 sack by the crusaders had been met in a negative way, even in the Christian world, because of the brutality of the conquerors,

[433] Hillenbrand, *Crusades*, pp.594-600.
[434] Malcolm Cameron Lyons and D.E.P. Jackson, *Saladin: the Politics of the Holy War* (Cambridge, 1982); Anne-Marie Eddé, *Saladin*, trans. Jane Marie Todd (Cambridge, 2011); A.R Azzam, *Saladin: the Triumph of the Sunni Revival* (2nd ed., Cambridge, 2014).
[435] Hillenbrand, *Crusades*, pp.150-151.

Saladin was much more restrained. Instead of the bloodbath that characterised the 1099 conquest, Saladin allowed the Christians in the city safe passage to Jaffa, whence they could get ships to Europe. He did not sack the city.

The fact that Saladin was successful militarily, and showed this level of mercy for the Latin population in Jerusalem led to a great deal of mythmaking surrounding him, starting in the thirteenth century and continuing to this day.[436] He became a common figure in *chansons de geste*, often appearing as a noble enemy of the even nobler Richard I of England, or simply a noble instructor of chivalry to the Franks.[437] There were some issues reconciling this notion of a Saracen, who was such a noble and good warrior, with the idea that he might have been better than his Christian enemies. One solution resulted in romances, like *La Fille du Comte de Pontieu*, that claimed that Saladin was actually the illegitimate grandson of a Frankish noblewoman and it was this lineage, rather than his Saracen heritage, that influenced his noble actions.[438] There was clearly a great deal of fascination with Saladin, especially after his death, in Latin Europe, although the attempts to reimagine him show that it might have been considered problematic to idealise a Saracen.

Since Saladin came to fame in the later parts of the twelfth century, most of the romanticised accounts about him are from the thirteenth century. Even when he is included in late-twelfth century and early-thirteenth century accounts, there is little to

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[436] Carole Hillenbrand, 'The Evolution of the Saladin Legend in the West', *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, 58 (2005), pp. 497-510

[437] Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens*, p.41; Bennett, 'Military Masculinity', pp.86-87; John V. Tolan, *Sons of Ishmael: Muslims through European Eyes in the Middle Ages* (Gainesville, 2008) pp.79-100; Nicholson, 'The Hero Meets His Match'.

[438] Sharon Kinoshita, 'The Romance of MiscegeNation: Negotiating Identities in La Fille du Comte de Pointieu', in *Postcolonial Moves: Medieval Through Modern*, eds. Patricia Clare Ingham and Michelle R. Warren (Basingstoke, 2003), p.113.

remind one of the Saladin of the later legends. For example Rigord talks more about the Saladin tithes, and only mentions Saladin himself a couple of times in passing.[439] William of Tyre provides references to him, since he was writing in the Kingdom of Jerusalem about its political situation. However, William finished writing before 1187, so again the Saladin he describes reflects the military reality of Outremer, before Saladin's mythical conquest. Overall, he is featured as a fairly typical, competent, Turkish warlord, a good enemy but a lesser threat than Nūr ad-Dīn. There is revealing a depiction of Saladin's personality in *Historia Rerum in Partibus*, following his usurpation of Egypt after the death of Shirkuh:

> The new ruler was a man of keen and vigorous mind, valiant in war, and of an extremely generous disposition. It is said that at the very beginning of his rule, when he visited the caliph to pay the homage which he owed, he struck his lord to the ground with a club which he held in his hand and slew him. He then put all the caliph's children to the sword in order that he himself might be subject to no higher authority but might rule as both caliph and sultan. For the Turks were regarded with hatred by the Egyptians, and Saladin feared that sometime when he had occasion to come before the caliph his lord might order him to be put to death.[440]

The Saladin portrayed here was a keen politician and warrior, but with a cruel streak, and possibly even paranoia. That Saladin was vindictive, and at points feared for his life, is also supported by the Islamic sources.[441] Considering that he was not only involved in assassination attempts against rivals, but the target of attempts against himself, a level of paranoia would not be surprising. William of Tyre's depiction might be a representation of the reputation Saladin had before the conquest of Jerusalem. It is notable that despite

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[439] Rigord, 'Gesta Philippi Augusti', 53 p.81 and 81 p.115.
[440] William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds*, v.2 XX:11 pp.358-359; William of Tyre, *Chronique*, v.2 XX:11 p.925: 'vir acris ingenii, armis strenuous et supra modum liberalis. Hic primis auspiciis sui principatus ad calipham, dominum suum, ut solitam exhiberet reverentiam ingressus, clava, quam gestabat in minibus, dicitur eum ad terram prostratum occidisse omnemque eius gladio transverberasse progeniem, ut ad nulum superiorem habens respectum ipse sibi et calipha et soldanus esset. Timebat enim ne ad se ingreditentem aliquando, quia iam Turci populo invisi habebantur, iugulari preciperent; prevenit ergo eum et sibi, more domini nichil tale verenti, mortem intulit, quam eidem ille, ut dicitu, parabat intemptare'.
[441] Eddé, *Saladin*, pp.163-166.

William's keen knowledge of the region, he identifies Saladin as a Turk, rather than as a Kurd. But Saladin was under the Turkish sphere of power, so it might be that William either did not want to confuse the reader or simply did not know that the new ruler of the Turks was, in fact, not a Turk. Regardless, compared to later portrayals of Saladin, this was not an ideal Saracen, just one Turkish leader among others. He did, however, have some admirable traits.

In comparison, very little of the noble Saladin can be found in Otto of St Blasien's work. While better than the treacherous Kilij Arslan, he appears not as a hero, but as another antagonistic archetype: the punishment from God. Otto of St Blasien had a low opinion of the Christians living in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. He wrote that Saladin 'took notice of this most wicked conduct of Christians and considering them to be riddled with discord, envy and avarice.'[442] Saladin's initial attacks are described as brutal but Otto mentions the fact that he allowed the Christians to leave Jerusalem through a treaty saying that 'the Christians were forced to leave by an agreement'.[443] This is not celebrated in any way, certainly not celebrated as merciful compared to the 1099 massacre, and the Christians were forced to accept this treaty. His respect for the Christian sites, notably the Holy Sepulchre, is also dismissed, with it being stated that he only respected it 'for the sake of profit'.[444] This was clearly not a hero, rather a pragmatic commander, but there to punish sinful Christians. He was, however, important in getting Barbarossa involved in the Third Crusade. Saladin became the focus since Barbarossa went to 'fight against Saladin,

[442] Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronicle', 30 p.5; Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronica', 30 p.42: 'nequissimum Christianorum animadvertens commercium eosque Discordia, invidia, avaricia infector considerans'.
[443] Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronicle', 30 p.5; Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronica', 30 p.43: 'eiectis per condicionem Christianis'.
[444] Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronicle', 30 p.6; Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronica', 30 p.43: 'questus gratia'. It should be noted that Loud translates 'questus' as 'quaesus', based on a similar sentence in Otto of Freising's description of the conquest of Edessa 1144, see n.19 in translation.

the King of the Saracens and all the enemies of the Cross of Christ'[445] and the resistance on the way to the Holy Land showed people that Frederick was 'visiting the Sepulchre of the Lord not with the wallet and staff but with the lance and sword'.[446] While he is not yet the special case of a good Saracen, as viewed from the Frankish or German perspective, Saladin instead appears as the ultimate enemy, here echoing earlier points about the Saracen men as outlets of military masculinity.[447] Barbarossa was going on the crusade for two, equally important tasks, retaking Jerusalem and smiting his Saracen foe, and that this explains the important role for Salading in this text.

Unlike the fantastical romances, where the historical fact was of much less concern than following the literary tropes and telling a compelling story, Otto of St Blasien had to consider that Frederick Barbarossa drowned before reaching the Kingdom of Jerusalem, because 'the sudden cold extinguished his natural heat',[448] and there would be no grand battle between him and his Saracen foe. This does not mean that Saladin left the account, since he was still the main enemy of the Christians and important for the events that would be described, mainly the Siege of Acre between 1189 and 1191, one of the few successes in the Third Crusade. This was the first military effort that Richard I of England became involved in, and the source does take note of him, but it tries to de-emphasise his involvement, saying that he arrived just after the second German army, led by Duke Leopold of Austria, and French troops under Philip II Augustus, and that he was simply the first to fly his banner after the victory, while they were the ones doing the real fighting. This

[445] Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronicle', 32 p.8; Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronica', 32 p.46: 'contra Saladinum Sarracenorum regem et omnes crucis Christi inimicos procinctum movit'
[446] Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronicle', 32 p.8; Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronica', 32 pp.46-47: 'non in pera et baculo, sed in lancea et gladio sepulchurum Domini visitare'.
[447] Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronicle', 33 p.9 and 36 p.1.
[448] Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronicle', 35 p.12; Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronica', 35 p.51: 'subitaneo frigore naturalem calorem extinguente'.

'English dishonesty'[449] was the final straw that caused the Germans to return home.[450] Compared to Richard, Saladin's portrayal is certainly better, even if there is very little in the way of heroism. The fact that he is defeated at Acre is what is stressed. Saladin's concern, unlike that of the Germans, was not on fighting but on helping those besieged in the city in an attempt to save them. The Christians responded to his arrival by building ditches for defence, without mentioning any kind of fear of the large Saracen army.[451] Saladin's conduct is described as clever, rather than brave, with the use of smoke signals and missile weapons, as when the Christians lined up 'wishing to fight him in open combat […] he always retreated and declined battle.'[452] Despite his efforts, or perhaps because he refused to face the Germans, they did manage to storm the city. This is what caused Saladin's grief, since during the storming of Acre the crusaders 'slaughtered all the pagans, both men and women, whatever their age or condition, with the edge of the sword, while Saladin was watching. He retired, grief-stricken. A few of the more important people were kept as prisoners.'[453]

Saladin is deeply flawed in terms of what constituted an ideal knight in the eyes of Otto of St Blasien. He does not fight as he should, as he is less focused on destroying his enemies than giving aid to the people in the city. His caution, bordering on cowardice, reveals a lack of masculinity, despite being such a famous warrior. He is, however, not actively treacherous as was the case with Kilij Arslan II or even Richard I. This might come

[449] Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronicle', 36 p.15; Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronica', 36 p.55: 'Anglicam […] perfidiam'.
[450] Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronicle', 32 p.8.
[451] Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronicle', 33 p.9 and 36 p.14.
[452] Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronicle', 36 p.14; in Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronica', 36 p.54: 'ei public bello congredi cuiebant, ipso semper cedente bellumque detrecante'.
[453] Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronicle', 36 p.14; Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronica', 36 p.54: 'omnesque paganos viros et mulieres cuiusque etatis et conditioniis in ore gladii occiderunt, Saladino aspeiciente et cum maximo dolore recedente, paucis de maioribus captivatis.'

from the fact that the author had to cope with the failure of the crusade, along with the death of Frederick Barbarossa, but Saladin's portrayal seems to be rooted in existing literary tropes. It might have been too early for a heroic portrayal to be put forward, especially by a German chronicler. It took a while for the idea of Saladin as chivalric hero to be established, even if he was respected early as a strong leader, as seen, for example, in the consideration of a marriage between Richard I's sister, Joan, to Saladin's brother, Saphadin.[454] This shows that early on he was considered a legitimate political leader, but that does not mean that his status as a Saracen would not be seen as detrimental to his status as a man in some people's eyes.

While the twelfth century appears to have produced less on the heroism of Saladin, parallels can still be found in Iberian and Sicilian material. We have already considered the honourable behaviour of Tāshufīn, who does manage to be an honourable antagonist, in this case because of how impressed he was with the Christian knights rather than because of greed like Saladin. There is another example, from a Sicilian source, that goes even further, portraying a Saracen king as almost Saladin-like in his justice: the Almohad Caliph, 'Abd al-Mu'min, but in Hugo Falcandus' *La Historia o Liber de Regno Sicilie*. While conversely he is depicted as one of the worst characters in *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, Falcandus portrayed him in a quite different light. Falcandus was very negative about almost everyone he was writing about. He described a Kingdom of Sicily in decline because of bad, tyrannical leadership after the death of Roger II, mainly placing the blame on Maio of Bari but also other administrators. Many of the latter were crypto-Saracen eunuchs, but one event that needs to be discussed here is the loss of Africa, described early in the

[454] Jubb, 'The Crusaders' Perceptions of their Opponents', p.236; Hill, 'Christian view of the Muslims', p.3.

chronicle. While the Sicilians were led by the cowardly eunuch Caid Peter, 'Abd al-Mu'min is described as 'the extremely powerful king of the Almohads'.[455] Despite this, when the Sicilian navy arrived to break the Siege of Mahdia in 1159 al-Mu'min:

> 'was terrified by the unexpected arrival of the galleys, and ordered his army to return to camp; it was so large that it could hardly be controlled. When the fleet approached land, there was tremendous joy in the city, and the knights raised a battle-cry, and if, as they imagined, the fleet had attacked on one flank they themselves had opened the gates and attacked the enemy on the other, then the barbarian army would have been defeated and destroyed that day'.[456]

According to Falcandus, Peter's cowardice was the reason for the Sicilian defeat, seen in the above example where he became so overpowered with fear that it influenced his decision making. The Almohad's could have been defeated by the Sicilian fleet, had they not been led by the crypto-Saracen eunuch Caid Peter, who became terrified by the mere sight of the Almohad fleet and fled. After the Sicilian fleet had fled and a few of their galleys had been captured by the Almohads, those besieged at the castle lost hope but despite this they kept attacking against impossible odds and with no hope of winning. This impressed 'Abd al-Mu'min:

> So when the king of the Almohads had used up every means that he thought worthwhile for capturing the city, looking with amazement upon the bravery of the besieged knights, and full of admiration for their courage and loyalty, he had no hopes that the city could now be captured by force, if he had not learnt on the information of deserters that it was at the point that, contrary to human custom, they were now not hesitating to eat horses, dogs and other unclean animals, he tried to persuade the knights to surrender, saying that it was vain

[455] Hugo Falcandus, *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily by 'Hugo Falcandus' 1154-69*, eds. and trans. Graham A. Loud and Thomas Wiedemann (Manchester, 1998), p.78; Hugo Falcandus*, La Historia o Liber de Regno Sicilie e la Epistola ad Petrum Panormitane Ecclesie Thesaurarium di Ugo Falcando*, ed. G.B. Siracusa (Rome, 1897), p.25: 'Masmudorum rex potentissimus'

[456] Falcandus, *History of the Tyrants of Sicily*, pp.78-79; Falcandus*, La Historia o Liber de Regno Sicilie*, p.25: 'inopinato galearum adventu perterritus, intra castra cogebat exercitum, qui tamen pre sui magnitudine regi vix poterat. At ubi iam terre stolium propinquibat, ingens in urbe cum letitia militum clamor exoritur et siquidem, ut arbitrabantur, stolium ex uno latere, ipsi, apertis portis, ex alio in hostes irruerent, ea die victous fususque barbarorum cessisset exercitus.'

> that they were concealing their shortages; he was not unaware of what they were suffering; no help would come to them from Sicily, for he had recently received letters from the palace eunuchs, from which he had clearly learnt what was really going on. In short, they should have no hope of escape, but he wanted to spare them because of their courage, and if they should prefer to stay with him out of fear of the tyrannous regime of the king of Sicily, he would give bounteous pay to as many of them as there were. If, on the other hand, they opted to return to Sicily, he would allow them free transit and give them the necessary ships.[457]

The treachery by the eunuchs continues here, refusing to help the brave Christians knights, but 'Abd al-Mu'min is described as a good and honourable commander. The Christian knights are obviously, according to Falcandus, the best in terms of fighting, but it was al-Mu'min who recognised this and, in an action that mirrors that of Saladin at Jerusalem, he allowed them to leave safely, even if he also offered to have some of them stay in his service. His behaviour pulls together many of the tropes that have already been discussed in terms of the honourable Saracen. There are also similarities with other texts. It is possible that this chronicle was produced in the 1190s, based on the inclusion of the *Letter to Peter*, a propaganda text against Queen Constance of Sicily, meaning that it would have been a very short time after Saladin's conquest of Jerusalem in 1187.[458] Jeremy Johns has questioned this dating, instead stating that it was written before the death of William II in

[457] Falcandus, *History of the Tyrants of Sicily*, pp.79-80; Falcandus*, La Historia o Liber de Regno Sicilie*, pp.26-27: 'rex itaque Masmudorum consumptis omnibus que ad optinendam urbem sibi crediderat expedire, iam obsessorium militum audiciam considerabat attornitus eorumque virtutem et constantiam mirabatur, et nullis urbam iam sperabat posse viribus expugnari, ultroque nisi famis intolerantiam perfugarum inditio cognovisset, ab ovbsidione amoturus erat exercitum. Sed ubi contra consuetudinem humanam nec eques iam parci, nec a canibus aliisque immundis animalibus abstineri cognivit, cepit milites ad deditionem hortari, dicens frustra suam eos indigentiam occultare; que patiebantus sibi non esse incognita; e Sicilia nichil venturum auxilii, nam se litteras eunuchorum palatii nuperrime recepisse, quibus rei veritatem plene didicerat; denique, nichil spei reliquum esse ut evasuros se putent, sed eorum virtuti velle se parcere, et siquidem regis Sicilie tyrranidem metuentes secum morari maluerint, largissima eis quotquot fuerint stipendia se daturum. Sin autem in Siciliam redire prelegerint, datis que sufficient navibus, liberum eis transitum permittendum.'

[458] Loud and Wiedemann, 'Introduction', pp.32-40.

1189, but that does not rule out a post-Hattin date.[459] With Saladin's reputation spreading very quickly across Europe, especially since the people of Jerusalem were treated so fairly compared to 1099, it is quite possible that Falcandus may have been trying to invoke this event in his own writing with 'Abd al-Mu'min acting like Saladin.[460] Again, he is not the best fighter, that is a trait reserved for the Latin knights, and earlier in the account it is mentioned that Roger II collected the most competent people in their field regardless of their origin, recruiting Latin knights since members of the *Francorum gentem*[461] were the best fighters, but, to the Sicilians, the fully masculine and fully Saracen 'Abd al-Mu'min's is clearly a superior to the eunch and crypto-Saracen Peter. 'Abd al-Mu'min's greatness should not be underestimated and, while he did display fear, he did not succumb to cowardice. Falcandus was focused on leaders, as seen in the title of his work, and although there are countless anonymous citizens and knights in the account, it is the leaders that he holds responsible for the events. He is highly critical of all of these, with 'Abd al-Mu'min being one of the very few to receive a quite positive treatment. This is exceptional since Falcandus shows his own, Christian, country being filled with tyrants and cowards, but a truly great leader can be found across the Mediterranean in the land of the Saracens. A Saracen could almost be seen as a role model for Christians in terms of leadership, and potentially a parallel was drawn between him and Roger II, since they both appear to value people based on their worth, rather than making shady alliances and playing favourites.

What does this mean in terms of masculinity? Saladin did later develop as a key figure in terms of representing Saracens, but in the late twelfth century this had not yet become the case. Based on the sources used as representative here, although the scope is

[459] Jeremy Johns, *Arabic Administration in Norman Sicily: The Royal Dīwān* (Cambridge, 2002), p.247
[460] Tolan, *Sons of Ishmael*, pp.79-100.
[461] Falcandus, *La Historia o Liber de Regno Sicilie*, p.6: 'Francorum gentem'.

narrow, the notion of a just Saracen leader appears to have been more difficult to accept in Germany than in Sicily. In the texts, the Saracen warriors and kings are never better fighters than the Christians, or at least those Christians favoured by the authors concerned. There does, however, appear to be a reasonable chance for Saracens to be good leaders, giving them chances to display a great deal of honour and, outside of the chronicle of Otto of St Blasiens, they appear to be almost as courageous as the Christian knights. The Saracen leader, in full power, might be represented in a variety of ways. There were, of course, many examples of poor Saracen leaders like Kilij Arslan II, or nuanced ones as that of Tāshufīn. The Saladin of Otto of St Blasien is sent to punish the Christians but, on the whole, he is a lot weaker than the Germans, who without hesitation slaughter every single Saracen they come across. Converesly, 'Abd al-Mu'min in Falcandu's account stands out as a ruler whom the failed Christian leaders should try to emulate. He is powerful, displays rationality, and acts in a fair manner.

While the knights are described as accepting 'Abd al-Mu'min's peace offer, most decided to sail back to Sicily rather than remain in his service.[462] The Almohad lands were also where Caid Peter would eventually flee to, specifically 'Abd al-Mu'min's court. [463] While this could be seen as contradicting the previous portrayal of 'Abd al-Mu'min as a good ruler, who wanted good men around him, Falcandus' account does note that Caid Peter was well-received which is unusual, and Islamic sources confirm that this escape did take place, meaning that the mention of it was not there to devalue the Almohad caliph, but report the events.[464] 'Abd al-Mu'min remains a good, steadfast and powerful ruler in the face of the tyrants of Sicily. A Saracen leader like him might have been more acceptable

[462] Falcandus, *History of the Tyrants of Sicily*, pp.80-81.
[463] Falcandus, *History of the Tyrants of Sicily*, pp.147-148.
[464] Falcandus, *History of the Tyrants of Sicily*, n.142 p.147.

in Sicily at this time than further north. The crusades meant that cross-credal alliances might have been more difficult to discuss in Sicily, compared to the Iberian Peninsula where they were essentially part of everyday warfare. Nevertheless, the Saracens with whom those treaties were made could still be represented as worthy leaders.

Conclusion

Regardless of location, for the masculine identity of young knights, proving their worth on the battlefield, the Saracen man was a worthy opponent. He was ultimately weaker and, depending on where the source was written, having to resort to more cowardly tactics which had an impact on their role as men. Cowardly actions were not limited to Saracen men, however, and in these sources it does not appear that cowardice was tied to the *gens* of Saracens any more than the groups of Christians beyond those promoted by the various authors. Christian knights needed a target for their violence, and one that was able to put up a good fight, and it appears that the Saracens were an ideal enemy. Their masculinity, on the whole, followed the same ideals of hegemonic Christian masculinity but, since they needed to be defeated, they still took on a subordinate role. That did not stop them from acting honourably, displaying courage or fighting well, but they could never be as good as the Christians.

That there were many different models of crusader masculinity has been noted by other historians, but it is also clear that differences in the portrayal of the masculinity of

the Saracens depended on where the source was written and who the author was.[465] This chapter primarily focused on *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* and the continuation of *Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris* by Otto of St Blasien, two of the chronicles considered in this study which are culturally the furthest from each other, and thus were produced in very different contexts. While they do show differences in how masculinity was formulated in the Teutonic and the Iberian context, they also reflect the relations with the Islamic world. While *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* focuses on warfare with the Almoravids, it also acknowledged them more as people. They reveal similar emotions to the Christians, and although they are clearly the enemy, there is very little difference between the Saracen and Christian knights in their actions. Otto of St Blasien has a much wider gap between the two, and the Saracens are hardly allowed any acts of courage or honour, they are simply there to be the targets of the German knights. Most crusader chronicles follows a similar model of Saracen knighthood to Otto, but do allow for more displays of courage. In these versions the Saracen knights appear more as props than people, simply there to be acted on, and more subordinate in their masculinity than in the Iberian context. The Sicilian material falls somewhere in between. There are certainly displays of courage, but they are not equal to the degree of the representations of Iberian Saracens. The exception would be 'Abd al-Mu'min, whose display of good leadership is a strong contrast to the tyrants of Sicily according to Falcandus. This shows less rigidness in the portrayal of Saracens on Sicily, at least when they were among the enemies.

[465] Natasha Hodgson, 'Normans and Competing Masculinities on Crusade', in *Crusading and Pilgrimage in the Norman World*, eds. Kathryn Hurlock and Paul Oldfield (Woodbridge, 2015), p.212.

Chapter 4. Saracens and monstrosity, violence and cruelty

Introduction

In modern colonial discourse there has been a view of the non-Western world as savage, with non-Western women as passive victims of the violence and power from non-Western, barbarian men, awaiting rescue by white civilised men.[466] This can be linked to the idea of the East as remaining in the past, an unchanging and barbaric place, with the West as its changing and modern counterpart. While this notion is tied to colonial discourse, there have been attempts to find the male, alien threat, often in writings about medieval ideas of monstrosity.[467] The links between Saracens, barbarity and monstrosity existed to some extent, just like the demonization of any enemy. The question is the extent to which these ideas were specific to Saracen men, and if this was the case in all types of source. Not all Saracen men were depicted as the mirrors of Latin knights and the idea of Saracens as monsters has been found in romances, polemics and travel writing.[468] While these genres tended to be more fantastical in their approach, it raises the question whether the same sentiments can be found in chronicles. In chronicles there are certainly images of cruel and tyrannical behaviour but for this to be considered barbaric and monstrous it has to cross a line beyond what was considered acceptable behaviour, but, as will be seen chronicles

[466] Kwok, 'Unbinding Our Feet', p.65.
[467] Abulafia, 'Bodies in the Jewish-Christian Debate', pp.129-130; Uebel, 'Unthinking the Monster', p.274, Cohen, 'On Saracen Enjoyment', pp.119-120, Classen, 'Introduction', p.12; Strickland, *Saracens, Demons & Jews*', pp.29-30.
[468] For examples see: Uebel, 'Unthinking the Monster', pp.264-291; Cohen, 'On Saracen Enjoyment', p.113-146; Akbari, *Idols in the East*, p.156.

often painted more nuanced portrayals of Saracens, while also allowing for more monstrosity among the Christians as well. In fact, because of the nature of romances, more fantastically written and with greater reliance on tropes, monstrosity is on the whole easier to find, whereas in chronicles it appears as more fluctuating, with many perpertrators of monstrous actions, but fewer truly monstrous people. In fact, as will be seen throughout this chapter, while the chronicles here are certainly not devoid of barbaric and transgressive behaviour, it is far more difficult to find the truly monstrous, which is often present in romances, despite the sources being produced in similar times and contexts. In fact, while there are some examples of monstrous Saracens, which will be discussed, there are also many monstrous Christians, and as will be seen medieval writers appear to have been more likely to be accuse a person of being a monster based on class than on *gens*.

To understand the role of violence and monstrosity in these chronicles, those times when the Saracens are the victims of violent or transgressive actions in chronicles must also be considered. The depictions in these chronicles link a person's role with actions, meaning that a cruel person was likely to commit cruel actions, and monstrous people were often monstrous because of their actions. However, what was considered cruel, monstrous or barbaric depended on the context and the author. Here, actions that were portrayed as transgressive by the authors will be discussed. First, violence against the male body will be examined, including decapitation and cannibalism. A central point will be to examine to what degree the *gens*, meaning the fact that the accounts were about Saracens, matter and to what degree other factors, such as class mattered. Second, the treatment of women and slaves will be discussed, since it relates to both issues of dishonour and dehumanisation. Third and final, violence against religion in the form of sacrilege will be considered, since not only violence against people was considered transgressive. Before

any of this, what was considered tyrannic, monstrous or cruel needs to be discussed, and how it was used by the writers.

Medieval rulers were powerful but their power was meant to be used for the greater good of their people and unjust, tyrannical behaviour was a common way to legitimise violence against them.[469] Tyrannical actions could be anything from failure to uphold the law to illegitimate violence, depending on the context, and this is something that became discussed more frequently in the twelfth century, notably with John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* (1159), in which he not only discussed ideal societies, but opposed tyranny to the degree that he even defended tyrannicide. It should be noted that there were many criticisms against Roger II of Sicily and his successors on the same ground as John of Salisbury, notably by Otto of Freising, but there were also actions that could be considered tyrannical throughout these sources.[470] Depictions of tyrannical actions are common in *Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis*, and are used to justify the crusades. William of Tyre's chronicle begins with the history of Jerusalem under Islamic rule, starting peacefully but growing troublesome and deteriorating sharply before the start of the First Crusade. The Fatimid Caliph Hakim (r. 996-1021) escalated the situation and not only ordered the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre but, according to William, he also tortured Christians and forced them to convert to Islam.[471] While William did not call Hakim a tyrant outright, he described him as acting in tyrannical ways, more wicked than any of his predecessors or successors, even described as hated by both men and God.[472] While this

[469] Susan Reynolds, 'Government and Community', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History, vol IV, 1024-1198, part 1*, ed. David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 2004), p.93.
[470] Helene Wieruszowski, **'**Roger II of Sicily, *Rex-Tyrannus*, In Twelfth-Century Political Thought', in *Speculum*, 38:1 (1963), pp.46-78.
[471] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.1 I:5-6 pp.67-69.
[472] William of Tyre, *Chronique*, v.1 I:4 p.110: 'Hic et predecessorum suorum et successorum partier longe vincens maliciam, factus est posteris et eius insaniam legentibus sollempnis fabula: adeo enim

occured before the start of the crusades, the situation for Christians in Jerusalem remained the same, which according to William was the main reason for the First Crusade. Hakim is, therefore, a clear example of a tyrant and his actions against the bodies and souls of Christians made him cruel, and possibly monstrous. His tyranny was a legitimate reason for the crusader invasion. Other acts of cruelty are described in the First Crusade, notably when Antioch was conquered after a prolonged siege in 1098. According to William, Saracens had planned to kill all the Christians in the city, which is why they were slow to react when the crusaders were admitted into the city by a Saracen traitor, Firuz, since they believed that the violence was their own massacre, rather than committed by an invading force.[473] William of Tyre also included inappropriate behaviour by Saracens with the death of Imad ad-Dīn Zangid, killed by his own servants. Not only was this a gruesome murder by people who were supposed to be loyal to him, Zangid himself was in a drunken stupor, revealing poor and immoral behaviour.[474] Here a Saracen ruler was shown as acting immorally but, despite this, the treachery itself is more transgressive. The image of the Saracen camp is here one of degeneracy and the fact that it was servants, not warriors, who killed Zangid adds to this. But it was not only Saracens who could act cruelly according to William of Tyre. The actions of the Christians during the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 have previously been referred to, and William described them thus: 'Regardless of age and condition, they laid low, without any distinction, every enemy encountered. Everywhere was frightful carnage, everywhere lay heaps of severed heads, so that soon it was impossible to pass or to go from one place to another except over the bodies of the slain'[475]

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in omni impietate et necquicia singularis extitit, ut eius vita deo et hominibus odibilis speciales exigat tractatus.'

[473] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.1 V:19 pp.252-253.

[474] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.2 XVI:7 p.146.

[475] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.1 VIII:19 p.370; William of Tyre, *Chronique*, v.1 VIII:19 pp.410-411: 'quotquot de hostibus reperire poterant, etati non parcentes aut conditioni, in ore gladii

and ‘so frightful was the massacre throughout the city, so terrible the shedding of blood, that even the victors experienced sensations of horror and loathing.’[476] This was beyond the legitimate violence discussed in Chapter Three, having moved into something more transgressive, and these were actions by Christians against Saracens.

Monstrous actions were not simply violent, they were attacks on the established social order. These are not unique to *Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis*, and neither is the bias showing more barbaric deeds from the Saracens than from the Christians, even if William of Tyre was more nuanced than most crusader historians. The Iberian source, *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, has already been noted to be even less strong in its condemnation of Saracens specifically, often showing poor deeds from all groups of people. The Alcaide of Toledo, Muño Alfonso (d. 1143), one of Alfonso VII of Castile’s key nobles, had a very strong hatred of the Saracens because he had been imprisoned and ‘tortured by being denied food and drink’.[477] This maltreatment of captives is clearly shown as something negative but, at a later point the Castilians themselves killed a large group of Saracen prisoners, which is instead described as a necessary evil, since they were afraid that they could acquire weapons and cause chaos during an upcoming battle.[478] The

indifferenter prosternebant, tantaque erat ubique interemptorum strages et precisorum acervus capitum, ut iam nemini via pateret aut transitus nisi per funera defunctorum.’

[476] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.1 VIII:19 p.371; William of Tyre, *Chronique*, v.1 VIII:19 p.411: ‘Tanta autem per urbem erat strages hostium tantaque sanguinis effusion, ut etiam victoribus posset tedium et horrorem ingerere.’ *Tedium et horrorem* has been translated to ‘horror and loathing’ by Krey. While ‘*tedium*’, or ‘*taedium*’, might have been able to be translated to horror in classical sources, the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* instead states that it indicated a state of prolonged tiredness or weariness. The same dictionary translated ‘*horror*’ to the bristling of hair, feelings of horror, dread or revulsion, or the source of horror. This makes another valid translation ‘sensations of weariness and revulsion’, which invokes a different emotional state.

[477] ‘Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris’ (2000), II:17 pp.211-212; ‘Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris’ (1990): II:17 .203: ‘aflixerunt eum fame et siti.’

[478] ‘Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris’ (2000), II:28 p.216 ‘Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris’ (1990), II:28 p.28: ‘Christiani uero hoc uidentes occiderunt omnes Sarracenos captious tam uiros quam mulieres ne forte castra eorum turbarentur ab illis, acceptis armis.’

treatment of Muño Alfonso was the result of malice, and in taking revenge for this he became a great foe of the Saracens. On the other hand, the Castilians were forced to act as they did, at least according to *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, which justified their actions when they maltreated prisoners. The source indicates throughout that noble hostages should be treated with respect, unless special circumstances dictated otherwise, implying that to not do so would be barbaric. Also, the Castilians are shown as less murderous than their rival Aragonese. The two had been enemies in Alfonso's early reign but were considering an alliance in the face of the Almoravid invasion. The fact that the Aragonese wanted to kill all of the Saracen nobles and imprison all women and children wishing to surrender can be interpreted as justification against allying with him, and these actions resulted in the Aragonese defeat by the Almoravids.[479] The Aragonese king even swore a royal oath (*regio iureiurando*[480]) to treat his potential prisoneres, and following this, when they were attacked by the Saracens it was described that: 'in payment for their sins, their prayers were not heard before God'[481], meaning that not only had Alfonso VII not helped them, neither had God. In order to emphasise the fact that the Aragonese people and their ruler were unjust the author reminded the reader that they carried with them a stolen relic, which was seized by the attacking Saracens.[482] It is also mentioned that the king's heart was hardened by God (*Deus indurauerat cor eius*[483]) against the Saracens, which Simon Barton and Richard Fletcher noted as an expression used in the Old Testament when the Pharaoh refused to let the Israelites leave with Moses.[484] These examples show that

[479] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), I:53-56 pp.186-187.
[480] Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (1990), I:53 p.175.
[481] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), I:55 p.187; Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (1990), I:55 p.176: 'peccatis exigentibus, orations eorum non sunt exaudite ante Deum'.
[482] Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), I:52 p.186.
[483] Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (1990), I:53 p.175.
[484] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), .186 n.131; Exodus 7:3 and 9:12.

essentially anyone could participate in cruel, violent or barbaric behaviour, although the author was less likely to present the Castilians doing so. Many violent actions were portrayed as just and brave and only portrayed negatively when there were other issues, either motivation, target or levels of violence. Who the target and the perpetrator of violence were, what it was meant to accomplish, and the method of violence all played an important role in determining what was monstrous or cruel. Similar actions could be cast as legitimate or transgressive depending on the perspective of the writer, but the examples below will discuss those actions that were more difficult to justify.

Breaking of the Male Body

One of the clearest ways to show unjust violence is to have knights illegitimately killed or injured in gruesome ways or, worse, to have non-combatants meet similar fates. There are several accounts in these sources where the body is harmed to a degree that it can be considered as broken. William of Tyre offers a few examples of this, reporting cruel actions by the Fatimids before the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099. After capturing the city they extorted money from the local Christians but, unsatisfied, then seized all their goods and exiled them, with a few unfortunate exceptions.[485] An old Christian man was believed to have hidden his funds and, in order to discover these, he was imprisoned, tortured by having all the joints in his hands and feet 'wrenched apart and his limbs became practically useless.'[486] Later, during the reign of Baldwin II (r. 1118-31), the king himself had been

[485] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.1 VII:23 p.334.
[486] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.1 VII:23 p.335; William of Tyre, *Chronique*, v.1 VII:23 p.375: 'membrorum partem maximam redderent inutilem.'

imprisoned by the Turkish lord Balak but was rescued by his knight Joscelin and a group of Armenians. Unfortunately, the group was shortly recaptured by Balak and, while Baldwin and Joscelin were successfully ransomed, the Armenians met a worse fate:[487]

> 'Some were flayed alive; others sawn asunder; and still others buried alive. Others Balak handed over to his men to serve as targets in archery practice. Yet, though they suffered torture in this world, these men had sure hope of immortal life; though they were tried in a few things, yet, from another point of view, their reward was great.'[488]

Both representations of these events strongly resemble hagiographical martyrdoms, such as those of Saint Bartholomew and Saint Lawrence, and this was probably done on purpose by William. These are all Christian men, mostly warriors aiding their king, but also one elderly non-combatant, killed or mutilated in horrific ways by the Saracens. The Armenians' entrance into heaven is specifically referenced, while the account of the old man plays into the greater narrative of Christian suffering as a cause of the First Crusade, perhaps excusing the horrific acts by the crusaders during the Sack of Jerusalem. The violence here is used to show how the Saracens' actions make Christians martyrs, clearly representing the Saracens as the victimisers. This was the same role which the Romans played in many early hagiographies. The connection between pagans persecuting Christians and Saracens persecuting Christians is perhaps linked to the idea of Saracens as pagans, at least as a literary role, but not all accounts suggest this.

Another example of horrifying violence against a male body can be found in William of Tyre's accounts of the failed coup in Cairo after the death of the Fatimid caliph

[487] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.1 XII:17-19 pp.540-544.
[488] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.1 XII:19 p.544; William of Tyre, *Chronique*, v.1 XII:19 p.570: 'alios enim vivos decoriari fecit, alios serra divide per medium, alios viventes sepeliri, alios pueris suis quasi signum ad sagittandum tradi. Qui etsi coram illis tormenta passi sunt, spes tamen illorum immortalitate plena est et in paucis temptati in multis bene disponentur.'

al-Ẓāfir in 1154. Instead of successfully taking over, vizier 'Abbas, who was behind the murder, was revealed and his house surrounded by an angry mob. He managed to distract them by throwing expensive items, which the mob of paupers turned to collect while he ran, and this worked even when they caught up with him for a second time, but eventually a group of Christians who had been helping the mob were able to catch them.[489] This resulted in his son, Nasr, being seized by the Templars, who had also participated in the riot.[490] Instead of judging him themselves, the Templars sold him back as a slave to the people of Egypt where this was his fate: 'Heavily chained hand in foot, he was placed in an iron cage upon the back of a camel and carried to Egypt, where, to satisfy their savage passions, the people literally tore him to pieces bit by bit with their teeth.'[491] This is a clear breaking of the body, and in a very bestial way. 'Abbas not only failed in his attempts to secure his future through the coup, his son who was both meant to inherit this new power and represented 'Abbas' through their familial bond, was completely physically destroyed by those he was hoping to lead. Here it is the mob that shows barbaric behaviour, with savage passions, and most gruesome of all breaking Nasr. The behaviour is clearly problematic according to William, and although the fact that they were Saracens does play a role, it is perhaps more important that they were peasants. The savagery of the actions is probably a reflection of the perpetrators' social class, since they were not armed like noble knights.

[489] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.2 XVIII:9 pp.251-252.
[490] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.2 XVIII:9 pp.252-253.
[491] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.2 XVIII:9 p.253; William of Tyre, *Chronique*, v.2 XVIII:9 p.823: 'Traditum autem vinctum minibus et pedibus cathenis ferries, in cavea ferrea camelis imponentes, in Egyptum deduxerunt, ubi inhumanis desideriis suis satisfacientes, eum mordicus decerpentes in frusta minitissima conciderunt.' Krey translates *mordicus* to 'with their teeth', but it could also mean fiercely according to *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*.

While the vast majority of people in the medieval world were peasants, most of the actors in these sources were nobility and, occasionally, clergy. The authors were primarily churchmen, often writing for a courtly setting. This means that the views of the peasantry would depend on representations generated by members of the elite. While there were different models of medieval society, one idea was that it consisted of three orders, those who fought, those who prayed and those who worked: nobility, clergy and peasants. This was clearly a simplified model of society, but it was the ideal that other theories rested upon.[492] Another model was that of the Body Politic, which John of Salisbury promoted in the already discussed *Policraticus*. Here, society was a body, with different social groups representing different body parts, and needing to work together to function, since opposing it would tyranny.[493] While the nobility was the primary ruling class, the peasantry by far outnumbered them and, perhaps as a result of this, the view of the peasantry was often negative.[494] They were considered less rational and in many ways unintelligent, which is why the nobility had to control them. But it was also seen as a duty for the nobility to protect the weaker peasantry, just as in most hierarchical organisations in the Middle Ages.[495] Peasants were even frequently compared to animals, often for comedic purposes, since they were viewed as less rational and more docile and simple, making them less human than nobles.[496] There are also frequent comments on the appearance of peasants,

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[492] Georges Duby, *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined* (London, 1980), trans. Arthur Goldhammer, pp. 81-109; Giles Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought: the Interpretation of Mary and Martha; the Ideal Imitation of Christ; the Orders of Society* (Cambridge, 1995), pp.252 and 289.
[493] Cary J., Nederman, 'John of Salisbury's Political Theory', in *A Companion to John of Salisbury*, ed. Christoph Grellard and Frédérique Lachaud (Leiden, 2015), pp.258-288.
[494] Paul H. Freedman, 'The Representation of Medieval Peasants as Bestial and as Human', *The Animal/Human Boundary: Historical Perspectives*, ed. Angela Creager and William Chester Jordan (Rochester, 2002), p.30.
[495] Paul Freedman, *Images of the Medieval Peasant* (Stanford, 1999), pp.150-151; Duby, *Three Orders*, pp.92-99.
[496] Freedman, 'Representation of Medieval Peasants', pp.30-35; Joyce E. Salisbury, *The Beast Within: Animals in the Middle Ages* (London, 2011) (2nd ed.), pp.134-136.

not only as animalistic but with darker skin and misshapen, using their external appearance to show their inferiority to the aristocracy.[497] This view of the peasantry, with their liminality in terms of humanity, bestial both in actions and appearance meant that they were more likely to be involved in barbaric and transgressive acts. This was regardless of whether they were Christians or Saracens, which will be made clear in this chapter. The peasantry were the ones most likely to transgress against order and thus be deemed monstrous.

Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris contains fewer violent acts of this calibre. The examples of overzealous killing and torture are often placed in their context and resolved, such as the crippling of Tāshufīn after a lance pierced his thigh (see discussion in Chapter Three), but there are also a couple of examples of Christian men having their bodies broken by Saracens, leading not to death but permanent injury. The first concerns how Rodrigo González de Lara met his end. He is one of the main knights in the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* with his many military deeds described. After one battle in the early 1140s he went to meet the Saracens of Valencia, who 'gave him a potion and he caught leprosy'[498]. Following this he went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where he died in 1143. Leprosy as a disease has strong connotations of impurity, going back to the Old Testament, and this depiction of the Saracens spreading such an illness on purpose raises an interesting link between Saracens and impurity.[499] Arabic medicine was comparatively highly advanced in the twelfth century with the medical sciences developing greatly in the Islamic world. There were transmissions of texts from the Islamic world to the Christian of such important works

[497] Freedman, *Images of the Medieval Peasant*, pp.140-142.
[498] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), I:48 p.184; 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (1990), I:48 p.172: 'Sarraceni dederunt ei poculum et factus est leprosus'.
[499] Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society*, pp.45-60; Cuffel, *Gendering Disgust*, pp.39-40.

as Ibn Sīnā's *Canon on Medicine* (c.1025).[500] This does raise the question of whether Saracen doctors were not only seen as skilful but also potentially dangerous, however, this is only one example.

A second example of cruel Valencian Saracens concerns Guy de Lons (d. 1141), bishop of Lescar, who was taken to Valencia after being captured. There, the Saracens tried to convert him by force. He was circumcised against his will but eventually ransomed back.[501] Forced conversion was not the norm in medieval Islam and did not become widely performed until the Ottoman era, but there were stories about this from the crusader period, as well as rumours that Jews circumcised unwilling Christians.[502] The nature of these sources makes it difficult to verify whether these events actually happened, or if they were simply rumour or propaganda. Forced circumcision had de-masculinising effects since it was believed to be linked to castration, as well as loss of control of sexual urges, which could be disastrous for a member of the Christian clergy after the Gregorian reformation.[503] The fact that the Bishop of Lescar not only survived the ordeal, but appears to resist both conversion and problems arising from the circumcision, instead makes this a triumph for Christianity. Even if the same issues of disability and disfigurement might be applicable this was not a wound that would be visible to the people he met. It is a clear case of an attack on the physical body, making the identity of the perpetrators specific due to the nature of the injury: circumcision was a behaviour linked with Saracens and Jews. Also, while it might be assumed that those capturing the bishop were fighting men, nothing is specifically said

[500] Joan Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1993), pp.107-108.
[501] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), I:59 .189.
[502] Akbari, *Idols in the East*, p.236-237.
[503] Kruger, 'Racial/Religious and Sexual Queerness in the Middle Ages', pp.33-34; Kruger, 'Becoming Christian, Becoming Male?', pp.21-23. An introduction to conversion to Islam can be found in Ira M. Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies* (2nd edn, Cambridge, 2002), pp.197-206.

about them or the Saracens performing the circumcision. Regardless of who performed the circumcision, the context was outside of battle, making it very different from the crippling of Tāshufīn.

These are two cases of seemingly non-combatant Saracens injuring the bodies of Christian men in a barbaric fashion, which might be seen as an issue, both because it was against the own social role, and because the injuries on the Christian male bodies were not the result of a valiant battle, but treachery and torture.. The fact that in both cases the Saracens were from Valencia perhaps suggests some animosity towards the city by the author of *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* to that city in particular, if Saracen men from that city were more likely to commit unjust violence and other against the male body. It should be noted that Valencia was reconquered, and then set fire to by Alfonso VII's grandfather, and then in Muslim hands, so there might have been some animosity there, but there is not enough evidence to confirm. The important conclusion is that the male body could be broken even outside of battle, even if this was less common.

Returning to the breaking of the male body in the martial context, it could be used in a positive way. One example of this is from *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii* of a famous warrior Saracen, Benneclerus, who faced Count Roger I in the field. Roger I fought the Saracen successfully, splitting him while leaving his horse and possessions unhurt.[504] This is similar to accounts from the First Crusade, where a giant Saracen man is killed by Godfrey of Bouillon, also in one blow while leaving the horse unhurt.[505] The whole notion of splitting another warrior in two appears to be used to show the martial prowess of the man

[504] Real name and identity unclear, but the 'Ben' should probably be an 'Ibn'; Malaterra, *Deeds of Count Roger*, II.4, p.29-30.
[505] Robert the Monk, *History of the First Crusade*, XX p.133; Guibert de Nogent, *The Deeds of God through the Franks*, VII p.133; *The* Chanson d'Antioche*: An Old French Account of the First Crusade*, trans. Susan B. Edgington and Carol Sweetenham (Aldershot, 2011) §162, p.193.

performing the deed, especially when facing a formidable foe. Leaving the horse and possession unhurt showed fighting precision and allowed for spoils of war. Benneclerus was described as 'extremely well-known among his own people for his warlike exploits'.[506] This emphasised the victory further, but it might be worth considering that this kind of complete destruction of the body was more acceptable since the enemy was not a Christian. This motif was common in later crusader romances, but already, in this earlier text, there appears to be an inherent message about the body of a male Other being more justly broken than that of a Norman.[507] Here the body was completely destroyed, but there were other examples, in which not only the horse and items were used as a display of victory, but also the body or, more specifically, the head.

Decapitation is frequently described in medieval sources. It was a means of killing someone that proved the individual was without a doubt dead, as in the case of an important Turkish commander at the time of the First Crusade, Yağısıyan (d.1098), who was imprisoned and decapitated by a group of Armenians.[508] Albert of Aachen reported decapitated heads being thrown over the walls of Nicaea during the city's siege by the first crusaders in 1097, used as a form of psychological warfare.[509] Also, decapitation in combat was, just like cleaving a body in two, a way to show great levels of strength and precision, which is why it is frequently used in both chronicles and romances, especially against impressive or monstrous enemies.[510] Taking these two issues together, proof of death along with display of victory, comes the aspect of using the decapitated head as a trophy.

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[506] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger* II.4, .29; Malaterra, *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii*, II.4 .30: 'militia sua plus necessario praesumens'.
[507] Cohen, 'On Saracen Enjoyment', p.128.
[508] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.1 V:23 p.259.
[509] Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana: History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, ed. and trans. Susan B. Edgington (Oxford, 2007), II:28 p.108-109.
[510] Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *Of Giants: Sex, Monsters, and the Middle Ages* (Minneapolis, 1997), p.66.

Just as the banner was used to symbolise the living person, the decapitated head was used as evidence of his defeat. A very clear example of this is from *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, when the Muño Alfonso finally reached his military apex after being released from his Saracen prison where he had been tortured.

At the Battle of Montiel in La Mancha, 1143, Muño Alfonso fought against two Saracen emirs, Avenceta (of Seville) and Azuel (of Córdoba). Avenceta was killed, when according to the source he was acting prideful, through decapitation by two knights of Toledo, Pedro Alguacil and Roberto de Mongomariz.[511] This inspired fear in the surviving Saracens, who along with Emir Azuel tried to flee. However, Muño Alfonso caught up with Azuel, pushed him down and decapitated him.[512] The victory was followed by the usual looting, but the most important trophies were the heads of the kings:

> They hung the heads of the kings from the top of the spears upon which were royal standards, and on each of the lances they hung the heads of the commanders and princes. Muño Alfonso ordered the kings' bodies to be wrapped in fine silk materials, he placed them in a green field, and left Saracens with them, who were to guard over them until they were taken away from there.[513]

And as they started to leave for Toledo:

> The royal standards went before them held high, with the kings' heads on the top of the lances, next to the noble horsemen prisoners in chains, and afterwards the Saracen people with their hands tied behind their backs.[514]

[511] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:71 p.234.
[512] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:72 p. 234.
[513] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:73 .234; 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (1990), II:73 p.229: 'Capita uero regum suspenderunt in summitate hastarum, in quibus errant uexilla regalia, et capita ducum et principum suspense sunt in singulis hastis. Corpora regum iussit Munio Adefonsi inului in pannis sericis optimis et posuit ea in quodam campo uiridi et reliquit cum eis Sarracenos, qui ea custodirent usque indi tollerentur.'
[514] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:74 p.234.

This was an important battle, with an outcome described in detail, but while other historians have used this to show the importance of post-battle rituals, looting, or the battle's geopolitical significance, it is fascinating to follow the journey of the heads of these otherwise forgotten emirs.[515]

There is a lot of imagery here, with the royal standards, the heads of the kings, noble hostages and loot in the form of slaves. It paints a picture of undisputed victory and the Saracen heads, hanging alongside their own banners in mockery, are perhaps the most important aspect of this. Having any head as a trophy to simply show violence was not enough; this was indisputable evidence of victory, and the head of a Saracen governor (in the source they are called kings, *reges*) was ideal to fill that role. The victory parade continued to Toledo where Alfonso VII of Castile and Queen Berengaria greeted them. The description of the parade, with the banners, heads, nobles and slaves is repeated. The emperor looked at the heads and banners, and he was made 'astonished' (*stupefactus)*.[516] At this point the heads cannot physically have been in a good state and it raises questions about preservation, and the importance of the banners to identify them at all. The use of heraldic devices to identify knightly groups and their prowess in medieval European warfare is well-established, and it appears to have worked in this cross-cultural context as well.[517]

[515] Simon Barton, *The Aristocracy in Twelfth-Century León and Castile* (Cambridge, 1997), pp.153 and 183; Bernard F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VII 1126-1157* (Philadelphia, 1998), pp.76-77; Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia, 2003), pp.206-207.
[516] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:77-79 pp.235-236; 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (1990), II:77 p.231.
[517] Jones, *Bloodied Banners*, pp.11-32

But despite probable decomposition, the heads were still a symbol of a great victory, and continued to be so:

> Muño Alfonso ordered the heads of the kings and the other heads of the princes and commanders to be hanged upon the tower of Toledo, so that there would be a manifest sign of the help of the Lord to all Christians, Moabites and Hagarenes. But after a few days, the empress, moved by great pity, commanded the kings' heads to be taken down and ordered Jewish and Saracen doctors to anoint them with myrrh and aloes, to wrap them in the finest materials, and to place them in caskets worked in gold and silver. Afterwards, the empress sent them with honour to Córdoba to the queens who were the kings' wives.[518]

This shows some attention to the preservation issue, although this was well after their deaths. It is interesting that it is not Alfonso VII, but Muño Alfonso himself who orders the heads to be displayed, and Queen Berengaria who orders them to be taken down. The dichotomy between the two shows the continued vengeful violence of Muño Alfonso, perhaps indicating that he was taking this further than was appropriate. The heads must have been in a terrible condition at this point, and even if the symbol was important, it was degrading to the dead kings. Berengaria had already been shown as lecturing Saracen lords in proper behaviour, and here she seems to take on the role of the queen as a peacemaker, asking for mercy for the two heads. That it is Berengaria who does this should not be construed as criticism of Alfonso VII, but rather that they were fulfilling different roles as king and queen. The fact that she sends them to their wives is an interesting representation of the cross-cultural relationship between queens. As a final comment, linking back to the

[518] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:79, p.236; 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (1990), II:79, pp.231-232: 'Iussit autem Munio Adefonsi suspendi capita regum et cetera capita principum et ducum in summa arce Toleti, ut omnibus Christianis, Moabitis et Agarenis manifestum signum esset auxili Dei. Et transactis autem aiquot diebus, imperatrix misericordia magna mota iussit capita regum deponi et precept Iudeis et Sarracenis medicis ea ungere mirrha et aloes et inuolui in pannis optimis et mittere in arcis laboratis ex auro et argento. Deinde imperatrix honorifice misit ea in Cordubam reginis uxoribus eorum regum.'

previous point, the doctors anointing the heads at Alfonso VII's court were Saracens and Jews.

While this might have been Muño Alfonso's greatest victory, it also showed his great affinity for violence and continued hatred of Saracens. But this victory would not be repeated. Not long after he was preparing for his final battle, and as if he knew what was about to happen he refused to let his step-son participate, even striking him so that 'he went reluctantly to Toledo crying and lamenting.'[519] In the following battle he was killed, alongside his knights.[520] What is more interesting is what happened after his death:

> The adalid Farax arrived and cut off his head, his right arm, shoulder and hand, and his right foot and leg, and he stripped off his armour and wrapped his mutilated body in clean linen. They cut off many of the Christian knights' heads and sent Muño Alfonso's head to Córdoba, to the palace of the wife of Azuel, and [then] to Seville, to the palace of King Avenceta, and afterwards across the sea to the palace of Tāshufīn, to publish it throughout all the land of the Moabites and Hagarenes. They fastened Muño Alfonso's arm and foot to the heads of the other knights to a high tower which stands in Calatrava.
>
> And when the inhabitants of Toledo heard of that which the Saracens had done, they went and took the body of Muño Alfonso and the bodies of his comrades, and buried them in the cemetery of Saint Mary in Toledo. For many days Muño Alfonso's wife with her friends and the other widows would go to the tomb of Muño Alfonso and would lament with this lamentation and say: 'O Muño Alfonso we are distressed for thee. Just as a woman loves her only husband, so the city of Toledo loved you. Your shield was never deflected and your spear turned not back; your sword returned not empty. Tell not the death of Muño Alfonso in Córdoba and in Seville, publish it not in the palace of King Tāshufīn, lest the daughters of the Moabites rejoice, lest the daughters of the Hagarenes triumph and the daughters of the Toledans be saddened.[521]

[519] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:86 p.239; 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (1990), II:86 p.235: 'ipse inuitus plorans et eiulans uenit Toletum.'
[520] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:87 p.239.
[521] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:88-89 pp.239-240; 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (1990), II:88-89 pp.236-237: 'Venit autem Farax adali et amputauit caput eius et brachium dextrum cum humero et manum et peden eius dextrum cum tibia et expoliauit eum armis et truncum corpus eius inuoluit in linteaminibus mundis. Et multa capita Christianorum militum preciderunt et miserunt caput Munionis Adefonsi in Cordubam in domum uxoris Azuuel et in Sibiliam in domum regis Auencete deinde trans mare in domum regis Texufini, ut annuntiaretur in omnem terram

Muño Alfonso's body is broken here, in a similar way to how he broke the bodies of the Saracen kings. It has been noted that several of the sections of this chronicle are made to mirror those of the Old Testament, here primarily the death of Saul and the desecration of his body by the Philistines who: 'cut off his head, stripped off his armour, and sent messengers throughout the land of the Philistines to carry the good news to the houses of their idols and to the people'.[522] This strongly resembles what happened to Muño Alfonso, but his post-mortem mutiliation also resembled that of the emirs of Seville and Córdoba. Just as the heads of the Saracen kings were used as symbols for them and for their demise, so was Muño Alfonso's.

Muño Alfonso is a problematic hero in the chronicle. He had until this point been shown as a great fighter and ruthless as opposed to Berengaria's mercy, but still respected by Alfonso VII. After his death the chronicle had more negative things to say about him. Muño Alfonso had killed his legitimate daughter because she had a love affair and, more importantly, in doing so he did not feel any pity for her.[523] He did, however, realise that his actions and feelings were wrong and was planning on going on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but was stopped by the archbishop of Toledo who instead ordered him to stay and fight the

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Moabitarum et Agarenorum. Brachium et pedem Munionis Adefonsi et capita aliorum militum suspenderunt super excelsam turrem, que est super Calatraua. Quod cum audissent habitatores Toleti quecumque fecerant Sarraceni, uenerunt et tulerut corpus Munionis Adefonsi et corpora sociorum eius et sepelierunt eos in cemeterio sancte Marie Toleti. Sed per multos dies mulier Muniois Adefonsi cum amicis suis et cetere uidue ueniebant super sepulcrum Muniois Adefonsi et plangebant planctum huiuscemodi et dicebant: "O Munio Adefonsi, nos dolemus super te. Sicut mulier unicum amat maritum, et Toletana ciuitas te diligebat. Clipeus tuus nunquam declinauit in bello et hasta tua numquam rediit retrorsum; ensis tuus non est reuersus inanis. Nolite annuntiare mortem Munionis Adefonsi in Corduba et in Sibilia neque annuntietis in domo regis Texufini, ne forte letentur filie Moabitarum et exultant filie Agarenorum et contristentur filie Toletanorum."'

[522] 1 Samuel 31:9; 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), p.239 n. 176 and p.240 n. 178.

[523] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:90, p.240.

Saracens until his death as penance.[524] While his aggression against the Saracens was initially framed as retribution, here it is instead presented as his penance, two separate explanations as to why he fought so hard and treated his enemies in the way he did. Some of his actions were clearly shown as unnecessarily violent, but they served a purpose, and it invites considerations both of how the broken body could be represented and how it related to funerary rites. Decapitation and the subsequent use of the head as a trophy. was a common part of medieval Iberian warfare, and while Muño Alfonso's death is significant, the more important conclusion to be drawn here is that the same practice occurred on both the Christian and Islamic sides of the frontier.[525] The decapitated head of a warrior was a representation of the slayer's victory, regardless of ethnicity or religion.

Decapitation was frequently used as a demonstration of prowess, and William of Tyre also notes that heads are not only used to show victory but also explicitly a warning. This case is from one of the battles before Antioch was taken in 1098, when the Latins opened the tombs of recently interred Saracens and also collected the unburied Saracen bodies:

> The joy of the Christians over the success of the previous day had greatly increased by this knowledge. In addition to those who had been drowned in the river through various mishaps, those who had been buried in the city, and those who, fatally wounded, were on the verge of death, fifteen hundred bodies were found in that cemetery. About three hundred heads, more or less, were sent to the port, which caused great rejoicing to those of our people who had returned there after the fight of the previous day. It also acted as a salutary warning to the Egyptian deputies who had not yet left the harbor.[526]

[524] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:90, p.240.
[525] Barton, *Aristocracy in Twelfth-Century León and Castile*, p.186 n. 190.
[526] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.1 V:7 p.235; William of Tyre, *Chronique*, v.1 V:7 p.280: 'leticia conceperunt: nam preter eos, qui in flumine variis casibus submerse sunt et qui in urbe sepulti quique letaliter saucii mortem adhuc prestolabantur imminentem, mille quingenti in predicto loco reperti sunt. Ex quibus trecenta vel ampliora capita ad portum dirigentes, nostros, qui illuc ab esterno conflictu redierant, letificaverunt admodum, Egyptiorum quoque legatos, qui nondum a portu dicesserant, plurimum in eo facto deterrentes.'

Decapitation was a way to break the male body but, unlike cleaving or mutilation, it served an important purpose. It left the identity of the body clear and, like a banner, proclaimed its owner's defeat. It was, obviously, humiliating for the family and followers of a leader to have his head raised on a spear, but it was an acknowledgement of his role as a fighter. There were worse fates than dying a heroic death in battle, but to desecrate the body was an important part of *damnatio memoriae*, in order for the victor to display his superiority. The times when the body was broken outside of the martial context were represented as far more transgressive, especially when the peasantry were perpetrators of violence. There were, however, actions that, regardless of perpetrator could, never be excused.

Cannibalism

There was one form of the breaking of the male body that was a lot more severe than any of these previous examples, and that was cannibalism. While these other practices humiliated the dead bodies, in the end they were properly buried, but cannibalism could hinder even this. Cannibalism is a practice that has been used to show the Other as truly monstrous. It has been widely used in colonial discourse to legitimise the subjugation of groups of people.[527] While the situation was different in the Middle Ages, there was a strong link between the monstrous and the 'other' with cannibalism. There was a growing concern over the practice, alongside the increasing worry over religious and social

[527] Kristen Guest, 'Introduction: Cannibalism and the Boundaries of Identity', in *Eating Their Words: Cannibalism and the Boundaries of Cultural Identity*, ed. Kristen Guest (Albany, 2001), p.2.

transgression in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[528] For example, the Mongols were accused by Matthew Paris of being cannibals, in addition to linking their diet to their general uncleanliness.[529]

In these sources there is only one clear case of Saracen cannibalism, from *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii*. Although Malaterra has been shown as having a surprisingly balanced view of the Saracens, this is one of the moments when they are shown as monstrous. Serlo was a Norman knight, who had a diplomatic meeting with a Saracen, Brachiem, a Saracen who from the start was intending to betray him: 'Hence, in order to deceive him more easily, a certain Saracen called Brachiem [*Ibrahim*] made an agreement with Serlo, and each verbally took the other as his adopted brother, as was the custom of their people.'[530] Swearing oaths of loyalty was common in the Middle Ages, and even bonds outside the family were framed in terms of the kin-group.[531] That this is included might be to highlight the severity of Brachiem's treachery, or the fact that it is described as his custom (*mos*) might indicate that this manner of swearing brotherhood was alien. There was a trope of the link between barbarians and blood brotherhood going back to antiquity, but since no blood is mentioned in the ritual, it is unclear whether this trope can be applied to Brachiem.[532] Serlo clearly believed the sincerity of this oath, since his following actions are

[528] De Weever, *Sheba's Daughters*, pp.68-69; Heng, *Empire of Magic*, p.28-29; Strickland, *Saracens, Demons & Jews*, pp.45 and 193-195.
[529] Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West, 1221-1410* (Harlow, 2005), p.140; Heather Blurton, *Cannibalism in High Medieval Literature* (New York, 2007), pp.81-103.
[530] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger*, II:46, p.63; Malaterra, *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii*, II:46, p.54: 'Saracenus autem quidam, de potentioribus Castri-Johannis, nomine Brachiem, cum Serlone, ut eum facilius deciperet, foedus inierat, eorumque more per aurem adoptivum fratrem, alter alterum factum vicissim susceperat.'
[531] Althoff, *Family, Friends and Followers*, pp.160-161.
[532] Klaus Oschema, 'Blood-brothers: a Ritual of Friendship and the Construction of the Imagined Barbarian in the Middle Ages', in *Journal of Medieval History*, 32:3 (2006), pp.275-301.

shown as based on trusting the promises of at least a temporary truce. The result of his trust was betrayal and his own death.

What is key for the argument is what happened to his body afterwards: 'Serlo was disembowelled and the Saracens tore out his heart and are alleged to have eaten it, so that they might share in the bravery for which he had been famed.'[533] Not only are the Saracens here acting with treachery, which has already been seen to be a common negative attribute in the foes of the Normans, but this is clearly an act of barbarity. This is not only an act of cannibalism by the Saracens, but one aimed at giving them certain aspects of Serlo's character, namely his *audacia* (courage). This was certainly a monstrous act, underlined by the fact that it is the result of an oath-breaking. Important here is also that while it has already been shown that Malaterra included more instances of graphic violence than his contemporaries, and this is one of the most extreme examples. This breaking of the male body is not done of the battlefield, and the consumption of the heart is intended to emphasise that Brachiem was a complete monster.

While some the cannibalism during the First Crusade discussed below might well have happened, this event recorded by Malaterra was unlikely to be based on a real event. Cannibalism was a way to show the enemy as lacking in humanity, monstrous by nature, and this is how Malaterra used it. However, there were many examples of Saracen allies who were much less vilified in the same text, which means that this was not something that could be said about Saracens in general. Perhaps the fact that Brachiem was a Saracen, so inherently 'other', meant that Malaterra could apply this type of trope on him more

[533] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger*, II:46, p.63; Malaterra, *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii*, II:46 .54: 'Serlone eviscerate, Sarceni cor extraxerunt; utque audaciam eius, qaue multa fuerat, conciperent, comedisse dicuntur'.

easily than for example a Lombard. The Saracens might not have been as alien as Matthew Paris' Mongol, but they were still inherently 'others'. The reality of the situation might have been a less elaborate betrayal and ambush, but by invoking the oath-breaking and cannibalism Malaterra turned the event into one of barbarity and monstrosity. Having someone declared a brother by blood oath, only to betray and consume their heart showed clearly that Brachiem was more than any treacherous false ally, he was a true monster.

Surprisingly, most examples of medieval representations of cannibalism were committed by Christians and risked tainting what in hindsight became one of the most important Christian military campaigns.[534] During the First Crusade, when the crusaders attacked the village of Ma'arrat al-Nu'man following their departure from Antioch in 1098, in their starvation after realising that there was nothing to loot, they ended up eating Saracens. This episode is included in the earliest account of the crusade, the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*.[535] While some other writers omitted this, either because they were unaware, since not all eyewitnesses noted it, or because they did not want to mention something that made the crusaders appear in such a negative light, this was not the case for later chroniclers, who included it, but with attempts at justification. Notably, Guibert de Nogent and Robert the Monk included the cannibalism but specifically blamed the poor participants who were the remnants of the People's crusade.[536] This recalls the idea of poor people as more monstrous, unable to control their base urges, in this case hunger, and because of that committing horrible acts, while the nobility displayed greater self-control. This link between the peasantry and cannibalism in times of war and starvation is not

[534] Heng, *Empire of Magic*, p.25-27.
[535] *Gesta Francorum*, X:23, .80.
[536] Guibert de Nogent, *The Deeds of God through the Franks*, VI p.117; Robert the Monk, *History of the First Crusade,* VIII:7-8, pp.185-186.

unique, making appearances both in earlier and later sources, including the chronicle of Froissart.[537] *Historia Iherosolimitana* was one of the most popular chronicles of the First Crusade, and the vernacular account *Chanson d'Antioche* placed a great deal of emphasis on the poor people, called *Tafurs* by Guibert de Nogent, led by Peter the Hermit, truly relishing their cannibalism, but placing the incident outside Antioch instead of at Ma'arrat al-Nu'man.[538] Crusader cannibalism clearly survived in the popular imagination, although specifically among the poor rather than the knights.

William of Tyre had a different approach. Rather than relishing in the gory details, he included the cannibalism at Ma'arrat al Nu'man without any excuses other than starvation, but doubted its validity:

> To add to their troubles, a severe famine was raging in the army at this time, and, as food failed, many in defiance of custom relapsed to the savagery of wild beasts and began to eat the flesh of unclean animals. It is asserted also, though this is scarcely credible, that many, through the lack of proper food, fell to such depths that they were eating human flesh.[539]

These comments accord with William's general method of being relatively accurate and not including too many fantastical elements. He might simply not have believed that the events occurred. More interesting is his treatment of the rumours of cannibalism at the siege of Antioch. According to William of Tyre, Bohemond was worried about spies from the city, which feature in the eyewitness accounts of the *Gesta Francorum*, suggesting that they

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[537] Salisbury, *The Beast Within*, pp.134-35; *Chronicles of Froissart*, CLXXXII, pp.136-137.
[538] Kempf and Bull, 'Introduction', pp.ix-lxxiv; Edgington and Sweetenham, 'Introduction', pp.9-10 and 59; *The* Chanson d'Antioche, 138 §.177 and §174-175 pp.200-201.
[539] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.1 VII:11 p.314; William of Tyre, *Chronique*, v.1 VII:11 p.357: 'Erat preterea in eodem acercitu tanta famis acerbitas, ut deficientibus alimentis multi contra morem ferarum animos induti ad esum inmundorum se converterent animalium. Dicitur etiam, sit amen das est credere, quod multi pre alimentorum inopia ad hoc ut carnes humanas ederent prolapse sunt.'

were a real issue.[540] Most accounts describe them as Eastern Christians, which William of Tyre questions by stating that they were Saracens imitating Eastern Christians and Greeks, which might show a reluctance to depict Eastern Christians, allies of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, as enemies.[541] According to William of Tyre, Bohemond summoned a few of his Turkish prisoners and had them executed, after which he had large fires built on which their bodies were prepared and roasted. When people asked about this, his followers were instructed to say that all spies were to be eaten by the crusader leaders when found, with the intention of terrifying the spies. According to the source, this worked and the remaining spies not only left but the terrifying rumours about the crusaders spread across the Islamic world.[542] While actual cannibalism did not occur here it is used as a ruse by Bohemond, in a way that appears quite monstrous, but this was not unique to this source. It is unlikely that a similar ruses would have been represented had those cooked not been Saracen. The act is very dehumanising, and the fact that it was done to Saracens made it more socially acceptable.

Ruses by Christians involving cannibalism also occurred in romances. There is a peculiar example from *Richard Coeur de Lion*, a thirteenth-century Middle English romance, first written down in the fourteenth century, about the English king and his expoits in the Holy Land.[543] Here the protagonist also used cannibalism to trick Saracen leaders, but this time the cannibalism was for real. Richard had captured the sons of some of the Saracen leaders and then invited the leaders to a meal to discuss hostage delivery but what he

[540] *Gesta Francorum*, V:12 p.29 and VI:13, pp.32-33.
[541] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.1 IV:23 p.221.
[542] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.1 IV:23 pp.222-223.
[543] Geraldine Heng, 'The Romance of England: *Richard Coer de Lyon*, Saracens, Jews, and the Politics of Race and Nation', in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (New York, 2000), pp.135-137.

served them was their sons, who had been roasted. The reveal can be compared to *Titus Andronicus* by William Shakespeare, where the title character reveals to the Gothic queen Tamora that he had killed her sons, and they were baked into the pie she had just consumed. The account of Shakespeare is one of horror and tragedy, but it is different in the romance. The event is depicted as a hilarious ruse, despite being a very monstrous act, and it was only the Saracens who unknowingly consumed the human flesh, never the Christians.[544] Both *Richard Coeur de Lion* and *Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis* appear to use cannibalism for shock value. Neither Richard nor Bohemond eat human flesh, since to do so would be an extreme transgression. The people cooked are in both cases Saracens, and in the one case of actual cannibalism, it was committed by Saracens. Cannibalism goes so far beyond what would be morally acceptable, but since the Christian hero never actually consumed human meat himself it shows the hero as shocking and clever. Only the foreigners, in this case Saracens, were able to partake in this type of transgression.

Treatment of Non-Combatants

So far we have been concerned with how men treated other men. Violence could be a clear force for good if conducted in a just manner and a sign of tyranny if not. Women were generally not portrayed on the battlefield, although there are some exceptions, the most common one being as observers rather than as combatants even if the reality was different, with women serving military supporting roles, especially in the crusading

[544] Heng, 'Romance of England', pp.136-141; Leona F. Cordery, 'Cannibal Diplomacy: Otherness in the Middle English Text *Richard Coer de Lion*' in *Meeting the Foreign in the Middle Ages*, ed. Albrecht Classen (New York, 2002), p.153-171.

context.[545] This is not unique to medieval Latin culture, but is a trope in classical literature as well, and in Islamic history one of the first important battles during the first *fitna* (the civil war following the death of Caliph 'Uthmān in 656) is even called Battle of the Camel (656), since Muhammad's widow 'Ā'isha witnessed it while mounted on a camel.[546] Women on the sidelines of battle could be used in more moralising manners, seen in the previous examples of lecturing the fighting men. There are also more fantastical depictions of women near battle, such as in Raymond d'Aguilers chronicle, where women are depicted as engaging in witchcraft on the walls of Jerusalem and accidentally killing themselves.[547] More common, especially in crusader accounts, are the mundane accounts of female audience on the side lines of battle, worrying about or grieving for the fighting men. This is one of the few instances where ordinary Saracen women are described in these sources and, since they were included in almost every account of the Siege of Antioch, William of Tyre included them as well. He showed the women of the city alongside other non-combatants, children, elders and the injured, looking over the attacking crusaders and crying at the deaths of the city's men. 'Mothers of many children who had formerly been considered fortunate were now regarded as far otherwise, while barren women were thought lucky and much happier than mothers.'[548] Similarly, when Antioch was sacked by the Christians the greatest victims were the civilians of the city.

> 'Everywhere was carnage, everywhere anguish and the wailing of women; everywhere fathers of families had been slain and their entire households

[545] Caspi-Reisfled, 'Women Warriors during the Crusades', pp.94-107; J.F. Verbruggen, 'Women in Medieval Armies', trans. Kelly DeVries in *Journal of Medieval Military History*, v.4 (2006), pp.119-136.
[546] Chase F. Robinson, 'The Rise of Islam, 600-705', in *The New Cambridge History of Islam: volume 1, The Formation of the Islamic World Sixth to Eleventh Centuries*, ed. Chase F. Robinson (Cambridge, 2010), p.204.
[547] Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, XIV p.126.
[548] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.1 V:6 p.233; William of Tyre, *Chronique*, v.1 V:6 p.278: 'quecumque fecundas beatas prius matres reputaverant, nunc mutate cantico faustas esse steriles et matribus multo predicant feliciores.'

> murdered. Forcing their way into houses, the Christians destroyed articles of domestic use. All the substance of the foe was given over as plunder to the first who chanced to reach it. The victors roamed at will through places formerly inaccessible to them and, maddened by lust of killing and greed for gain, they spared neither sex nor condition and paid no respect to age'[549]

Again, the perpetrators here are Christians and the victims Saracens, so rather than being exceptional cases of violence against women these were shown as part of warfare. Certain sackings of cities were seen as more violent than others, and one way to show this was a lack of mercy against civilians, killing rather than capturing. The fact that there was great surprise that Saladin was so merciful towards the Latins when he conquered Jerusalem in 1187 says as much about medieval warfare as the initial Latin conquest in 1099. In fact, looking over most of these texts there seems to be little indication that Saracens are portrayed acting more cruelly after a battle, other than when there was a specific purpose, such as justifying a counter-attack or in religious polemic. More typical was that the violence of either side was used to invoke an emotional response to the fighting, the destroyed and grieving enemy a sign of the victory and the sack often emphasising the success of the looting. This is the same in the Iberian material, where these post-battle accounts are rarer, but when they are included it is either to show the greatness of the victory, as after the aforementioned Battle of Montiel, or instead show the suffering after a loss to prejudice the reader against the enemy. One example of this is that the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* describes how, when the Almohads invaded, they not only killed

[549] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.1 V:22 p.258; William of Tyre, *Chronique*, v.1 VI:22 p.301: 'Erat ergo ubique strages, ubique luctus, ubique mulierum eiulatus, et interfectis patribus familias passi obtruncabatur familia effractis domibus vasa diripiebantur et universa illarum substantia his qui primi accedebant concedebatur ad predam. Discurrebant victores per loca prius inaccessa te tracti cedis cupidine et lucre desiderio nex sexui parcunt nec conditioni, etatis etiam apud eos nulla erat differentia.'

nobles, but 'seized their women, houses, and riches'.[550] While this appears like perfectly commonplace post-battle looting, the loss is emphasised.

The looting and hostage-taking leads into an important issue that is often not specifically addressed in these sources, namely slavery. Slavery is important in the context of cruelty and monstrosity because it was an act of dehumanisation. In essence, it made a person property. The seizing of women, men and children alongside property suggests this connection, since people are being claimed in the same way as material possessions, and this is common in the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*. The taking of slaves, when included, is simply a general comment that, alongside looting, the Castilians imprisoned men, women, and children.[551] These prisoners of war, who often were enslaved, are a common theme in the *Historia Roderici*. Perhaps as a result of the lower fatality rate compared to modern warfare, the *Historia* shows huge numbers of people taken captive after battles. After raiding Toledo, 'He [Rodrigo Díaz] rounded up 7000 captives, both men and women, ruthlessly laying hold of all their wealth and possessions, and brought them back home with him'.[552] The same happens on the other side, and after the Almoravids had attacked Valencia, those with families and those who failed to run away were taken captive.[553] Some of these, nobles in particular, were probably taken to ransom, but those with no such economic or political resources were more useful as slaves. Slavery was widely practised in the Iberian Peninsula during the period, with particular demand for female domestic

[550] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:109 p.249.
[551] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:36 p.220.
[552] 'Historia Roderici' (2000), ch.10 p.104; 'Historia Roderici' (1990), ch.10 p.51: 'inter uiros et mulieres numero VII milia <captiuauit> omnesque substantias et diutias eis uiriliter abstulit secumque in domum suam attuilt'.
[553] 'Historia Roderici' (2000), ch.62 p.138.

slaves.[554] Even if the *Historia Roderici* describes how people could become possessions, *Cantar el Mio Cid* takes this even further, linking the captives to farm animals. After the capture of Castejón the followers of Rodrigo Díaz went to the fields 'capturing many Moorish men and women with the cattle and sheep'.[555] This recalls the idea of the peasantry as more animal-like, but perhaps the fact they also were of a different religion and race made this dehumanisation even easier. Legal sources support this connection between slaves and animals, since they were in the same category as livestock in thirteenth-century Aragonese legal texts.[556] This becomes clearer when looking into the context of slavery and enslavement in the medieval Mediterranean.

Slavery was widespread in the medieval Mediterranean. Unlike the Roman Empire, medieval Latin societies were not economically based on slave labour, but slavery remained a Mediterranean institution. It underwent demographic change in this period, partly as a result by the changing frontiers with Islam, and unlike previously, when most slaves were workers, the majority market moved towards female domestic servants.[557] While the types of slaves and markets might have changed there was no real disruption between the classical and medieval periods, only change over time.[558] The Iberian conflicts of the Central Middle Ages meant that people captured in wars in Iberia became the most

[554] Charles Verlinden, 'The Transfer of Colonial Techniques from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic', *Medieval Frontiers in Latin Christendom: Expansion, Contraction, Continuity*, ed. James Muldoon and Felipe Fernández-Armesto (Padstow, 2008), pp.214-215.
[555] *Poem of the Cid*, Cantar 1, pp.46-47: 'Moros e moras aviénlos de ganancia e essos gañados quantos en derredor andan'.
[556] William D. Phillips Jr., *Slavery from Roman Times to the Early Transatlantic Trade* (Manchester, 1985), p.73; Susan Mosher Stuard, 'Ancillary Evidence for the Decline of Medieval Slavery', in *Past & Present*, No. 149 (1995), p.3-28; Robert I. Burns, 'Muslims as Property: Slavery Episodes in the Realms of Aragon 1244-1291', in *Sharq al-Andalus*, 14-15 (1997-1998), pp.65-66.
[557] Stephen P. Bensch, 'From Prizes of War to Domestic Merchandise: The Changing Face of Slavery in Catalonia and Aragon, 1000-1300', *Viator*, 25 (1994), pp.63-94.
[558] Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford, 2000), pp.388-391.

common group of slaves across the Mediterranean, which only changed in the Later Middle ages when the accelerated Christian conquest in the region meant that most lands were already in Christian hands, which restricted access to Saracen slaves captured in warfare.[559] Since the Church had made it clear that it was not permitted to enslave Christians, and there was a similar rule against enslaving Muslims in Islam, the fact that there were inter-religious conflicts in Iberia opened up a great opportunity for those benefiting off the slave trade, both among Christians and Muslims.[560] While the ban against enslavement of Christians was occasionally ignored, as seen with the later Venetian conquest of Crete and the enslavement of Greek Christians, it did at least have an impact on the larger scale, and it became reasonably common to have female Saracen domestic slaves in Christian lands.[561] The same was true for female Christian slaves in Islamic lands.

Although it is difficult to assess the extent, female slaves were frequent victims of sexual coercion by their masters, both in the Christian and Islamic world.[562] This lack of agency over their own bodies affected their children, as they might be forced to abandon their own offspring in order to nurse the legitimate children of their masters.[563] Slavery is also included in *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii*, with North African pirates specifically taking

[559] Mark D. Meyerson, 'Slavery and Solidarity: Mudejars and Foreign Muslim Captives in the Kingdom of Valencia' in *Medieval Encounters*, 2:3 (1996), pp.286-287; Olivia Remie Constable, 'Clothing, Iron, and Timber: The Growth of Christian Anxiety about Islam in the Long Twelfth Century', in *European Transformations: the Long Twelfth Century*, eds. Thomas F.X. Noble and John van Engen (Notre Dame, 2012), p.264.
[560] Constable, 'Clothing, Iron, and Timber', pp.265-266.
[561] Sally McKee, 'Greek Women in Latin Households in Fourteenth-Century Crete' in *Journal of Medieval History*, 19:3 (1993), pp.229-249; Diana Gilliland, Wright, '*Vade, Sta, Ambula*: Freeing Slaves in Fourteenth-Century Crete', in *Medieval Encounters*, 7:2-3 (2001), pp.197-237.
[562] Meyerson, 'Slavery and Solidarity', .302; Khalil 'Athamina, 'How did Islam Contribute to the Legal Status of Women: The Case of the *Jāwāri*, or the *Female Slaves*', in *Al-Qantara*, 28:2 (2007), pp.383-385 and 394-395; Bernadette J. Brooten, 'Introduction', in *Beyond Slavery: Overcoming its Sexual and Religious Legacies*, edited by Bernadette J. Brooten (Basingstoke, 2010), pp.2-10.
[563] Rebecca Lynn Winer, 'Conscripting the Breast: Lactation, Slavery and Salvation in the Realms of Aragon and Kingdom of Majorca, c. 1250-1300' in *Journal of Medieval History*, 34:2 (2008), pp.164-184.

women and children prisoner when attacking Nicotera, and only ransoming those who could not be sold into slavery.[564] This fits the previously mentioned pattern of female domestic servants. Malaterra does not seem to take issue with the institution of slavery itself, only the enslavement of Christians, as he also mentioned the Normans selling defeated enemies into slavery after a battle.[565] While all of these actions were part of a dehumanising institution, the accounts themselves are not necessarily dehumanising, and while it might show Saracens as less human, enslaving someone was clearly not considered barbaric. It does, however, show the world in which these women were acted upon.

While female slaves were victims of both dehumanisation and sexual coercion, this did not mean that free women were safe. During the crusades rape of Christian women by Saracens was used as a justification for war and is included in some versions of Urban II's speech at Clermont. During the actual crusades, female prisoners of war were raped and occasionally forced marriage occurred on both sides, even if there were some attempts to deny it.[566] Even in such a long and sprawling chronicle as that of William of Tyre there are only a few instances of violence specifically aimed at women as women. The only clear rape narrative is the kidnapping of Theodora Komnene, queen of Jerusalem, in 1166.[567] The perpetrator was, however, not a Saracen but a Greek, Andronikos Komnenos (later Byzantine emperor, r. 1183-1185), although he and Theodora were aided by Nūr ad-Dīn in their escape and supposedly eloped in Persia. This Saracen connection is not supported by

[564] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger*, III:8 p.70
[565] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger*, II:33 p.49
[566] James A. Brundage, 'Prostitution, Miscegenation and Sexual Purity in the First Crusade', in *Crusade and Settlement: Papers Read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of Crusades and the Latin East and Presented to R.C. Smail*, ed. Peter W. Edbury (Cardiff, 1985), p.61; Yvonne Friedman, 'Captivity and Ransom: The Experience of Women', in *Gendering the Crusades*, ed. Susan B. Edgington and Sarah Lambert (Cardiff, 2001), pp.126-130; y Bisaha, *Creating East and West*, pp.14-15
[567] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.2 XX:2 p.345-346.

other sources. In fact this may not have been an actual kidnapping, as Theodora was probably a willing participant, running away from her unwanted marriage to the Latin king.[568] William of Tyre only portrayed this as a rape, and included the Turks helping the crime.

There is a lot more on this theme in *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii*, which makes many more references to sexual violence than any other source. It is notable also that Malaterra has many examples of Saracen men's personal lives and their relationships with women. One story is about an unnamed aristocratic Saracen from Messina. He wanted to flee when the Normans arrived in 1061, but his sister was too delicate to travel. Fearing that she would be raped (*corrumperetur*[569]) by the Normans if he left her, he killed her with his sword, but then cried for her death:[570]

> Although he shed tears for his beloved sister (for she was his only one), he preferred to be his sister's slayer and to mourn her death rather than that she should involuntarily contravene her own law and be defiled against her will by someone from another law.[571]

This is interesting both in terms of honour and because it brings up the aspect of a follower of a different faith belonging to a different law, this time seen from a Saracen perspective. The Saracen's killing of his sister is shown as protecting her honour and, through that, his own, yet also displaying emotion in the form of crying. He also used an aristocratic weapon, a sword, for the deed. The terminology for describing what we today would consider to be

[568] Jonathan Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades* (London, 2014) (2nd ed.), p.128.
[569] Malaterra, *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii*, II:11 p.32.
[570] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger*, II:11 p.32.
[571] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger*, II:11 p.32; Malaterra, *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii*, II:11 pp.32-33: 'Et quamvis prae dulcedine sororis lacrimis perfunderetur – unica enim erat – maluit sororis interemptor fieri et mortuam quoque flere, quam soror legis suae praevaricatrix fieret et ab aliquot lege sua non content stupraretur.'

different faiths is here described as different laws, again showing that religion was not only about personal faith. Malaterra' proximity to Muslims might mean that he was aware that the Saracen's sister being sexually involved with a Christian man would be against her law, even if she was a willing partipant. What is more notable is that the actions of her brother are depicted in an honourable way. Killing his sister rather than having her dishonoured may bring to mind modern honour killings. This is problematic since honour culture is not a pan-Islamic phenomenon and, also, Malaterra does not show this sentiment as something 'other'. Wolf has interpreted this story as part of Malaterra's attempt to make the chronicle more entertaining, using the tragedy essentially as a sentimental literary story, more closely related to medieval romance than to modern notions of honour killings.[572] Wolf does appear to be correct here, as Malaterra does not appear to portray this as a 'other' or barbaric action, but as a way of protecting her from sexual violence, something that *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii* indicates was a prominent feature of the conflict. Similarly, Muño Alfonso's killing of his own daughter for having a love affair, discussed earlier in the chapter, is even more similar to the idea of modern honour killings, and there the main problem for the author was Muño Alfonso's lack of pity rather than the action itself.

The risk of rape is central to another of Malaterra's accounts, this time relating to the conversion of the Saracen nobleman Chamut, whose conversion to Christianity will be discussed in Chapter Five. His wife and children were taken hostage by Count Roger I but what is interesting is that it is specifically mentioned that she was not raped (*dehonestatione*[573]) by the Normans.[574] The fact that this is pointed out, and framed in terms of Count Roger I having to make an effort to stop this, since he wanted Chamut to

[572] Wolf, *Making History*, p.146.
[573] Malaterra, *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii*, IV:5 p.87.
[574] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger*, IV:5 p.107.

join their side, underlines the fact that sexual molestation was a significant risk for imprisoned women. It also underlines the importance of sexual honour, with a wife's sexual dignity linked to the honour of her husband, and not because Chamut was a Saracen. It almost appears that Malaterra was suggesting that Roger I's banning the rape of Chamut's wife was something that made him an unusually kind ruler. This begs the question as to whether he would have done the same had there been no important alliance at stake. There are only a few other direct references to violence against women, which might simply mean that it was not considered important enough to mention. The other instances when it is referred to are when it was particularly gruesome or considered immoral.

At an earlier point in Malaterra's narrative, Basil of Gerace, a nobleman in Calabria, had invited Count Roger into the city for dinner in secret, since the population of the city did not want him there as they feared his invasion. However, they were discovered, and while Roger was imprisoned, a mob killed both Basil and his wife. While Basil was simply struck down, his wife, Melita, suffered a worse fate, 'impaled with a stake from the anus through to the breast and forced to end her life with a shameful death'[575]. This again shows sexualised violence against women, this time without the inter-religious element as Gerace was on the mainland. There might have been an ethnic element, however, since the name indicates that Basil might have been Greek. Even if Basil was the one who had invited Roger, it was his wife, who was unaware of the situation, who suffered a dishonourable death, again showing the link between the bodily integrity of a woman and honour. This is another action by a mob described as barbarous, but it is still portrayed less negatively than a later action performed by Benarvert (Ibn al-Ward), the Amir of Syracuse and one of the

[575] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger*, II:24 p.38 and Malaterra, *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii*, II:24 p.37: 'stipite ab ipso ano usque ad praecordia transfixa, inhonesta morte vitam terminare cogeretur'

leaders of the resistance against the Normans during Roger I's invasion.[576] After he committed what Malaterra dubbed several acts of piracy, Ibn al-Ward finally attacked a nunnery and 'ravished the kidnapped nuns and wickedly defiled them.'[577] This action is described as particularly bad and used as the main reason for mustering an army against Ibn al-Ward and his fleet. In this final attack, Ibn al-Ward was killed after being hurt by a knight. Threatened by Count Roger, he jumped off the railing of his ship to escape, but sank because of the weight of his armour.[578] The text states that the problem with attacking the monastery and raping the nuns was that it was a crime against God. It again highlights the link between sexual violence against women and honour.

All these references to sexual violence against women, as well as imprisonment and slavery, show that Malaterra perceived that men had a great duty to defend women. If they failed to do so, the consequences would be violation of their women's sexual dignity. In this context, it shows that Malaterra perceived the Saracens and Normans to have a similar standard for the role of men, as defenders and keepers of women. However, the other side to this was that they were also, just like the Normans themselves, a threat to women during conflict. Again, the Saracens lost the war, so in essence failed in their protection, but they were also responsible for the more heinous acts against women. Imprisoning women might have been a normal part of war, but, according to Malaterra, nuns were not considered legitimate targets of male violence.

Saracen men threatening Christian female virtue also occurs in later Sicilian material, notably in an episode concerning Robert of Calatabiano, the head of the sea

[576] Birk, *Norman Kings of Sicily*, p.53 n. 11.
[577] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger*, IV:1 p.104 and Malaterra, *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii*, IV:1 p.85: 'sanctimoniales abductas turpi stupor dehonestat'.
[578] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger*, IV:2 pp.104-106

castle of Palermo. While the circumstances of his rise and downfall will be examined in Chapter Six, it should be noted here that he was a crypto-Saracen, someone who claimed to have converted but secretly remained a Saracen. In doing so and also being in a position of power, he was instrumental. According to Falcandus' account, in holding Christian women captive for sexual purposes, showing him as a real monster.[579] What is clear is that the bodies of women were both used and abused in real life and in propaganda. The protection of women was important for the displays of martial prowess, which meant that a way to shame a man was to deny him this role. While it is difficult to give any kind of estimate as to the numbers of women who were raped in captivity, or how many were sold into slavery, the indications in these chronicles, taken alongside the legal material that exists, paint a grim picture, where both Saracen and Christian men were perpetrators, yet only condemned under certain circumstances.

Another interesting section of Fulcher of Chartres chronicle describes how, after a victorious battle over Karbuqa in 1098, the Franks drove away the male fighters, and '[i]n regard to the women found in the tents of the foe the Franks did them no evil but drove lances into their bellies.'[580] Harold S. Fink used this as an example of how the crusaders acted cruelly against the Turks, but the phrase 'did them no evil' contradicts this.[581] This seems to suggest that the crusaders did not commit rape here, which would be important to emphasise for a churchman who wanted to show that the crusaders remained chaste. Fulcher was not an eyewitness to any of these events, since he was still in Edessa with Baldwin at the time, so this, if not invented, would be based on second-hand accounts.

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[579] Falcandus, *History of the Tyrants of Sicily*, p.166.
[580] Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, I:XXIII:5 p.106; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, I:XXIII:5 p.257: 'mulieribus in tentoriis eorum inventis, nihil aliud mali eis Franci fecerunt excepto quod lanceas suas in ventres earum infixerunt.'
[581] Fink, 'Introduction', pp.36.

That there was a certain level of cruelty might still be correct, since there was no imprisonment or attempt at ransoming, but that might be a reflection of the situation the crusaders where in at the start of the crusader movement. They were strangers in a strange land with few means of communications. The regular modes of diplomacy were more difficult and that made violence an easier solution, even when it was directed against innocents. A clergyman, who wanted to celebrate the event would, however, be more likely to highlight positive actions rather than negative when possible.

Sacrilege and Desecration

While actions against people might be considered far worse than actions against objects or beliefs in the modern Western world, crimes against God were judged heavily in the medieval world. Sacrilege was a clear way to display unjust acts and tyranny among non-Christians, or false Christians. It was a way to show offence against God. Most of the cases discussed above were largely about acting against people, but there were other ways to upset God's order. There areexamples where actions against people, for instance the desecration of nuns, were considered a direct affront to God, but this section will instead focus on sacrilegious treatment of holy sites. This meant acts against physical objects or spaces, rather than acts perpetrated on people. Representation of this was not unique to Saracens, but also involved many other non-Christian groups. For example, in the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great, produced during his papacy 590-604, was very much concerned with the Lombard invaders of Italy, it is stated that they used heathen rites and wanted to use existing churches for their irregular prayers, all of which would have beem deemed

sacrilegious.[582] In this case the Lombards were probably Christians, but followers of the Arianism that Gregory I himself opposed. The Saracens were clearly not even Christian, even if they were at least monotheists. Despite this pagan tropes flourished, especially in romances, but also in these chronicles.

Malaterra is one of the few to mention idolatry, referring to the use of idols ('*idolis*'[583]) on Sicily. He, like later romance authors, was most likely aware that Saracens were not idolaters. That someone from Sicily would use these tropes might seem unlikely but Malaterra was more fantastical in his approach to history writing compared to the other chronicles here. Also, he used religion as a justification for Count Roger I's invasion of Sicily.[584] Malaterra might have included this idea of idolatry on the island to create a link between Roger and other knights and rulers fighting non-Christians as in the *Song of Roland*. In the later *Liber de Regno Sicilie*, there might be no mention of idols or pagan deities, but the Saracens are definitely a religious threat. Falcandus' chronicle reveals anxiety of the crypto-Saracens instead, and while there is no depiction of the destruction of churches or Christian religious sites, there is instead a greater fear of the building or restoring of secret mosques, notably a *sarracenourum templum* which will be considered further in Chapter Six.[585] This could be considered desecration of the Christian kingdom, but considering that the majority of the rural population was probably Muslim at the time, it is more likely used to show the hidden nature of the Saracens close to the political establishment. It is unclear whether there was any greater fear of secret mosques, but it

[582] Gregory I, *Dialogues*, ed. and trans. Odo Zimmerman (Washington, 1959), 3:27-30 pp.161-164
[583] Malaterra, *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii*, II:1 .29.
[584] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger*, II:1 p.28.
[585] Falcandus, *La Historia o Liber de Regno Sicilie*, 41 p.115.

should be noted that Palermo's cathedral was turned into a mosque during the Islamic rule of the island.

The chronicles generally have less to say about the religion of the Saracens than the romances. While the crusader sources do portray them as the enemies of Christianity and therefore engaging in desecration, what their actual faith was about does not seem to have mattered. The destruction of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem figured as an important motivating factor for crusade, according to the sources, combined with the difficulty for pilgrims wishing to visit the Levantine sites. This makes desecration of Christian sites and persecution against the faithful Christian a central part of the portrayal of the Saracens in the crusades. Despite this, William of Tyre mentions only a few acts of desecration. While it is possible to argue that all attacks against Christian sites could be classified as such it does not seem that William categorises them in this way. The Saracens attack the Christians and the Christians attack the Saracens. Occasionally they ally or fight within their religious categories, but generally there are few mentions of active desecration beyond the Holy Sepulchre in any of the Crusader sources. William of Tyre's second clear mention of desecration, other than the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre, is from the depiction of Antioch after the Christians have conquered it.

> The sacrilegious race of Turks had desecrated the venerable places; they had driven out the ministers of divine worship and put the churches to profane uses. Some of these sacred edifices had been used as stables for horses and other beasts of burden, and in others pursuits unbefitting the sanctuary had been carried out. The pictures of the revered saints had been erased from the very walls – symbols which supplied the place of books and reading to the humble worshippers of God and aroused devotion in the minds of the simple people, so praiseworthy for their devout piety. On these the Turks had spent their rage as if on living persons; they had gouged out eyes, mutilated noses, and daubed the pictures with mud and filth. They

> had thrown down the altars and defiled the sanctuary of God with their impious acts.[586]

This account not only attacks the Turks for their desecration, it also acknowledges the importance of images for illiterate people. Just as ruining the banner of a person was an insult, this was a direct offence to those represented by this place and in these images: God and his saints. William of Tyre here shows all the actions as intentional and is both specific and vague in his depiction to grant the greatest effect. The Turks are clearly shown as partaking in active sacrilege. But, again, it was not only the Saracens who did so. During the 1098 crusader siege of Antioch, the Christians are not only shown as destroying a mosque but this is also when they desecrated the tombs where some of the heads that were used as a deterrent for the Egyptians were found:

> There was at that place, as we recall mentioning before, a chapel devoted to the religious rites of the Turks, where they had also set aside a place of burial for their people. During the night just past and a part of the day following, they had borne the bodies of their dead thither for interment. Acting on reliable information of this fact, our people broke into the place by force, in the hope of finding spoils that had been buried with the dead. They opened the tombs, disinterred the corpses, and carried away not only the gold and silver and precious garments, but even the very bodies.[587]

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[586] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.1, VI:23, p.296.; William of Tyre, *Chronique*, v.1 VI:23 p.339: 'Gens enim Turcorum impia loca prophanaverat venerabilia et eiectis inde cultuum dicinorum ministris, usibus prophanis ea deutaverant, in aliis equos et iumenta quasi in stabulis collocantes, in aliis vero indigna locis exercentes negocia. Venerabiles quoque sanctorum imagines, quibus simplex populous et plebs dei cultrix, pia duditate commendabilis, quais pro libris utitur, que vice lectionis simpliciores ad devotionem excitant, ex ipsis corraserant parietibus et quasi in viventes personas desevientes oculos effoderant, mutilaverant nares et luto sumpto de inmundis obduxerant, deiecerant altaria et nefandis operibus inquinaverant domini sanctuarium.'

[587] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.1 V:7 pp.234-235; William of Tyre, *Chronique*, v.1 V:7 pp.279-280: 'Erat autem ibi, ut predixisse nos meminimus, supersticionos eorum oratorium, ubi et sepulture suorum locum deputavereant. Illuc ergo tam nocte preterita quam diei parti sequentis iam exacta defunctorum suorum transtulerant et sepelierant corpora. Quod ut plebe nostre plenius et pro certo compertum est, ullic violenter irruentes occasione spoliorum que cum ipsis tradita fuerant sepulture, sepuchra violant, sepultos effodiunt, aurum, argentum et vestes preciosas cum ipsorim funeribus de monumentis extrahentes.' Note that the word 'Turci' is not used here, unlike in the above translation, but the surrounding paragraphs uses this phrase, meaning that it is the Turks that it is the rites of the Turks that is being referenced.

This places the desecration as part of the looting going on after the battle and occurs in almost all depictions of the First Crusade. It can be compared with one of the earlier depictions of the same event, in the *Gesta Francorum*. Here, the mosque is not only called a *diabolicum atrium*[588], but the reason given for exhuming the bodies is more gruesome. Rather than loot, the reason appears to have been psychological warfare, as the bodies were dug up, decapitated and either brought to a tent for counting or sent on carts to Egypt, which resulted in the people of Antioch grieving greatly and wailing for days.[589] This seems to be another case of William of Tyre maintaining his relatively high level of balance and, while not excluding anything that would make the Christians appear too barbaric, always establishing logical reasons for their actions, while the similar actions of the Saracens would probably not receive any such consideration. Saracens as desecrators of Christian sites are without a doubt a trope, but in conflicts these events certainly occurred in reality at points. However, this was not a trope unique to Saracens, but also included pagans and heretics. The existence of non-Christians was an affront to God, and acts of desecration by these groups was a clear indication of their religious inferiority and a justification for revenge.

[588] *Gesta Francorum*, VII:xviii p.42, at other times, including on the same page, mosques go by the name '*machumariam*'.
[589] *Gesta Francorum*, VII VII:xviii p.42.

Conclusion

Despite all the monstrosity found in the medieval romances, it is surprisingly difficult to find the Saracen monster in these medieval chronicles. While the difference in levels of the fantastical between romance and chronicles have been examined by other historians, to find behaviour that would be considered barbaric or monstrous is more difficult than one might think, considering that they were primarily non-Christian enemies. The few instances when it does appear, it primarily seems to be to denote an enemy. Dehumanisation might have been easier when the target was not a Christian or when it played into the same tropes as the romances did. Outside of the Iberian context it does appear to have been more common to represent Saracens as performing transgressive actions than Christians, even if they were not inherently monstrous. There is, however, no lack of violence in the sources. Many acts, that by modern standards would be considered hideous, were actually undertaken by Christians. Medieval ideas about violence were different and violence could play a very important positive role, especially in terms of displaying personal prowess and as a way of establishing order. The breaking of the male body plays an important role in these depictions of warfare but, again, this is undertaken by both sides. While issues like cannibalism would be as disturbing to a medieval person as a modern one, other phenomena, such as using decapitated heads as displays of victory were clearly acceptable practices. Violence, both against other male fighters and against non-combatants, was acceptable as long as it was done in accordance with the existing norms. Breaking these norms was seen as a legitimate reason to use just violence in return.

The key issue is that the Saracen of the medieval chronicle was often the ideal enemy and that meant that although he could be deeply flawed, he was not likely to be a

monster. For if he was a monster he could not be a mirror for the ideal Latin knight or, even more importantly, a potential ally. This made most Saracens, at least in the chronicle tradition, different from the Mongols or the Tartars, who were so alien that speculation about them more easily intersected with ideas of the monstrous races. This is also why peasants, Saracen or Christian, were more likely to commit actions such as cannibalism. Because the Saracens were an increasingly well-established group in the twelfth-century Latin imagination, often as enemy knights, it became more difficult to depict them as uncivilised monsters. The fact that this would undermine victory over them by the Christians also contributed to this. Unusual cruelty was therefore more commonly ascribed to them, since that could work as a further justification of violence against them, but this was not necessarily different from what would be ascribed to Christian enemies. These sources suggest, however, that it was possible to stretch the limits of cruelty a bit further with Saracens but pure monsters were more likely to be found among the peasantry, in the romances, or increasingly far beyond the eastern frontiers of Christendom and Dar al-Islam.

Chapter 5. Saracens as allies

Introduction

The two previous chapters have discussed the type of interaction between Christians and Saracens most focused on by medieval writers: warfare and violence. While diplomacy between enemies was a part of this, this chapter will instead focus on the times of actual alliances, co-operation, and friendship. For obvious reasons the proximity between Christians and Saracens played a role, meaning that it was a phenomenon primarily in the areas where Christians and Saracen would interact, the Holy Land, Sicily, and the Iberian Peninsula. Having a Saracen as a neighbour would lead to interaction and, despite crusading ideals, this did not necessarily always mean war. Of these three regions the one with the most consistent evidence of friendship and alliances across cultural and regional barriers, especially on a small scale, was the one with the longest ongoing contact, namely the Iberian Peninsula.[590] While various sources can be used to show this, the representations in the chronicles, as in medieval texts more generally, were on the whole very male, with homosocial, non-romantic male-male relationships in focus, although these were usually between Latin men.[591] Bringing in Saracen men was quite popular in romances, especially with historical figures that were easy to fictionalise, like Saladin, who because of his perceived displays of honour could appear as an ally or honourable foe. This rewriting of actual people's lives to make a more compelling narrative was not unique to

[590] MacKay, 'Religion, Culture, and Ideology', pp.218-219; David Abulafia, 'The Role of Trade in Muslim-Christian Contact during the Middle Ages', in *The Arab Influence in Medieval Europe*, eds. D. Agius and R. Hitchcock (Reading, 1994), pp.1-24.
[591] Karras, *From Boys to Men*, p.7; Cohen, 'On Saracen Enjoyment, p.120.

Saladin. Another crusader figure was Karbuqa, the feared Turkish commander who had besieged the first crusaders at Antioch. Karbuqa was even given a conversion narrative in the old French Crusade cycle, *Chanson d'Antioche*, *Chanson des Chétifs* and finally *Chanson de Jérusalem*, where he went from being an enemy of the Christians to being one of them.[592] This theme of Saracen leaders changing sides and converting, usually after a military defeat, was a popular trope. It allowed for both a military and a spiritual victory over the Saracens, although narratives of Saracen women converting for love, and marriage to a Christian knight were even more popular and even appeared in certain chronicles.[593] But this did not mean that Saracens had to convert for them to become allies, as seen with the trope of the friendly Saracen.[594]

The sources discussed here are, however, not romances, but chronicles, and although they are not objective in any way, the genre was at least generally less fantastic than romances. While they might reflect some of the wishes of the Latin writers, they were more restricted in what they told than the romances, reflecting the same world in a different manner and focusing on different matters. There are no obvious examples of inter-faith marriage in these chronicles, so all of the relationships discussed here are male-male relationships, making the notion of homosociality even more relevant. Even if there are no cases like Roland and Oliver in terms of cross-cultural friendships, there are

[592] Tolan, *Sons of Ishmael*, pp.66-76; Sarah-Grace Heller, 'Surprisingly Historical Women in the Old French Crusade Cycle', in *Women and Medieval Epic: Gender, Gender and the Limit of Epic Masculinity*, eds. Sara S. Poor and Jana K. Shulman (Basingstoke, 2007), p.52.
[593] Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, p.70; De Weever, *Sheba's Daughters*, pp.xvi-xv; Simon Yarrow, 'Prince Bohemond, Princess Melaz, and the Gendering of Religious Difference in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Orderic Vitalis', in *Interesctions of Gender, Religion and Ethnicity in the Middle Ages*, ed. Cordelia Beattie and Kirsten A. Fenton (Basingstoke, 2011), pp.140-157; Marianne Ailes, 'Tolerated Otherness: The 'Unconverted' Saracen in the *Chansons de geste*', in *Languages of Love and Hate: Conflict, Communication, and Identity in the Medieval Mediterranean*, eds. Sarah Lambert and Helen Nicholson (Turnhout, 2012), pp.3-6.
[594] Mirrer, *Women, Jews, and Muslims in the Texts of Reconquest Castile*; Kangas, 'First in Prowess and Faith', p.127.

mentions of brotherly love between Christian men, and cross-cultural relations might have been portrayed in other ways.[595] This chapter will examine three main ways in which cross-cultural relationships are represented: political allies, Saracen lords and their Christian followers, and Saracen followers and friends. Following this there will be some discussion related to Louise Mirrer's friendly Saracen trope. Finally an issue that was a pressing matter for medieval people needs to be tackled: conversion.

Jewish communities existed within the realms of Latin Christianity, although often separate from Christians, but Saracens generally lived outside, making one an internal and the other an external 'other'.[596] Even within the main three areas of co-existence, there was often a separation between Saracens and Christians. Even in the region with the most long-term interaction, the Iberian Peninsula, true cultural pluralism was primarily an urban phenomenon. Villages were often predominately either Christian or Muslim.[597] On Sicily, co-habitation took place over a shorter period of time but was, in many ways, similar, with a very multicultural Palermo. On the whole, the western part of the island remained more Muslim and Christian villages were located in the north-east, but the riots of the later twelfth century pushed more Saracens into the countryside before their eventual expulsion in 1224.[598] The situation in the Kingdom of Jerusalem was different since, although the Saracens were probably in the majority on Sicily until the 1220s, the Latins in Jerusalem were always a small minority.[599] Previous historians have noted the importance of legally distinguishing the Saracens and Jews from the Christians in terms of enforced dress codes

[595] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.2 XIV:29 p.92.
[596] Elisheva Baumgarten, Ruth Mazo Karras and Katelyn Mesler, 'Introduction', in *Entangled Histories: Knowledge, Authority, and Jewish Culture in the Thirteenth Century*, eds. Elisheva Baumgarten, Ruth Mazo Karras and Katelyn Mesler (Philadelphia, 2017), pp.3-4.
[597] MacKay, 'Religion, Culture, and Ideology', p.153; Heath Dillard, 'Medieval Women in Castilian Town Communities' in *Women's Studies*, 11 (1985), p.119.
[598] Hillenbrand, *Crusades*, pp.329-330; Metcalfe, *Muslims of Medieval Italy*, pp.142, 272 and 291.
[599] Metcalfe, *Muslims of Medieval Italy*, p.142.

and bans on intermarriage, starting in the twelfth century. This was made very clear with the Council of Nablus in the Kingdom of Jerusalem (1120), but was also common in the Iberian kingdoms from the thirteenth century and supported by the Papacy with the Fourth Lateran Council (1215).[600] The prohibition on sexual relations was only affected on Christian women and Saracen men, but Islamic law generally forbade Muslim women from sleeping with Christian men, showing that both religions placed greater emphasis on controlling female sexuality.[601] Most historians agree that cross-cultural romantic relationships must have occurred, but they are difficult to find in the records and they do not appear to any great extent in the chronicles.[602] That there were concerns over this is, however, difficult to deny. William of Tyre provided an account of the background to Council of Nablus, noting that it was summoned by the Patriarch of Jerusalem after crops were destroyed by pests four years in a row, showing God's displeasure at the sins of the people.[603] He does not outline what the laws of the council said, instead encouraging people to read them separately. With the divisions between Christians and Saracens having a central role in the laws, it seems likely that too much intermingling between the two groups was, at least in part, what William of Tyre considered to be the problem. It should be noted that in reality the laws might not have played a great role, since most issues were judge by local lords.[604]

[600] Mark D. Meyerson, 'Prostitution of Muslim Women in the Kingdom of Valencia', in *The Medieval Mediterranean: Cross-Cultural Contacts*, eds. Marilyn J. Chiat and Kathryn L. Reyerson (Minnesota, 1988), pp.87-88; Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'On the Origins of the Earliest Laws of Frankish Jerusalem: the Canons of the Council of Nablus, 1120', *Speculum*, 74:2 (1999), pp.310-335; Tolan, *Saracens*, pp.196-198.
[601] Heath Dillard, *Daughters of the Reconquest: Women in Castilian Town Society, 1100-1300*¸ (Cambridge, 1984), pp.206-207; Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, p.138.
[602] Kinoshita, *Medieval Boundaries*, p.123.
[603] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.1 XII:13 pp.535-536.
[604] Catlos, *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom*, p.147.

This would mean that the council itself might have been primarily symbolic in nature, essentially a public event meant to discourage interreligious relationships.

There was clearly some separation between the two communities, which makes the issue of communication interesting. While there are a few known Latin noblemen and churchmen with at least some understanding of Arabic, like Roger II and Ramon Llull, everyday use of language is an important matter in order to conduct trade and diplomacy, or potentially communicating with neighbours, especially in the Iberian Peninsula with its long ongoing cross-cultural contacts. In the chronicles there is at least one example of the need for interpreters because some among the Christian nobility did not understand or speak Arabic, even if others have found examples of local Castilian nobles speaking a local version of Arabic and some Saracens understanding Castilian.[605] Looking at the romances, an example from the *Cantar de Mio Cid* shows a Moor understanding Latin as unusual, despite Rodrigo Díaz himself speaking with Saracens several times in the account, indicating that he spoke Arabic.[606] Some Iberian Christians also had Arabic as their native language, famously the Mozarabs, Christians who lived in Islamic lands and had assimilated to Arabic culture in almost every way except for religion. Although Mozarabs have been identified further back in time, gaining influence as the central Islamic powers in Iberia weakened, the term itself started being used in Latin documentation from the eleventh century and from the twelfth in Arabic writing.[607] The Mozarabs were central in

[605] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:28 p.216; MacKay, 'Religion, Culture, and Ideology', pp.220-221; for more on medieval multilingualism see Albrecht Classen, 'Multilingualism in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age: The Literary-Historical Evidence', in *Neophilologus*, 97:1 (2013), pp.131-145.
[606] *Poem of the Cid*, Cantar 3 p.160: 'un moro latinado'.
[607] Thomas F. Glick and Oriol Pi-Sunyer, 'Acculturation as an Explanatory Concept in Spanish History' in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 11:2 (1969), pp.142-143; Ann Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus 711-1000* (Richmond, 2002), p.8; Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, p.94.

contributing to the translation of classical texts into Arabic, and their transfer to the Latin world in what we now think of as the twelfth-century renaissance.[608] When the Christian conquest accelerated in the thirteenth century, the Mozarabs also brought with them Arabic culture in the form of art and architecture.[609] The Mozarabs do make an appearance in one of the Iberian sources discussed here, *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, when Tāshufīn b. 'Alī returned to North Africa, allegedly bringing with him some of the Mozarabs (*Muzarabes*) of his court.[610] While their inclusion might have to do with the overall emphasis on Christians, there is no mention of them in as exaggerated terms as the Christian knights, possibly because of the emphasis on martial affairs, but perhaps also because the appearance of Mozarabs was so unremarkable to an Iberian writer. Regardless, it certainly places the Mozarabs amid the conflict, and as loyal followers of a great Saracen, despite being Christian.

Mozarabs were clearly one of the key groups for bringing Arabic learning to the Latin West in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but what about the Saracens themselves? Historians are generally focused on texts and therefore studies of the twelfth-century renaissance have generally been focused on book learning.[611] This drew a lot on Islamic learning, especially transmitted through Iberia, which continued after the twelfth-century renaissance. There were also developments in practical science and engineering.

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[608] Bennison, *Great Caliphs*, pp.205-209.
[609] Hitchcock, *Muslim Spain Reconsidered*, pp.70-71.
[610] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:45 p.223; 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (1990), II:45 p.216.
[611] R.N. Swanson, *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (Manchester, 1999), pp.50-54; George Saliba, *Islamic Science and the Making of the European Renaissance* (Cambridge MA, 2007), p.3; Adam J. Kosto, 'Reconquest, Renaissance, and the Histories of Iberia, ca. 1000-1200', in *European Transformations: the Long Twelfth Century'*, eds. Thomas F.X. Noble and John van Engen (Notre Dame, 2012), pp.103-104; Charles Burnett, 'Translation and Transmission of Greek and Islamic Science to Latin Christendom', in *The Cambridge History of Science, vol. 2: Medieval Science* (Cambridge, 2013), pp.341-364.

While the Mozarabic connection brought Arabic influence on Latin architecture in Iberia, the Arabic link is perhaps even more obvious on Sicily. Saracen artisans were very common in twelfth-century Sicily and anyone wandering Palermo today can see the Norman churches like San Giovanni degli Eremit with strong Arabic influences.[612] The latter was originally built before the Arabic conquest of the island, converted into a mosque, and then reconverted and rebuilt in the twelfth century into what we have the remains of today. Similarly, Santa Maria dell'Ammiraglio and San Cataldo were built in the twelfth century and both also show Arabic influences. Many of these have predominately Byzantine-inspired mosaics, but in the Cappella Palatina in the Norman Palace the wooden ceiling is in Arabic style, complete with Kufic writing.[613] The Palermo of Roger II was dominated by both Greek and Arabic culture.[614]

[612] Matthew, *Norman Kingdom of Sicily*, p.91.
[613] For further reading on the interior of the Norman buildings see: Otto Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, (London, 1949); William Tronzo, *The Cultures of His Kingdom: Roger II and the Cappella Palatina in Palermo* (Princeton, 1997); Eve Borsook, *Messages in Mosaic: the Royal Programmes of Norman Sicily (1130-1187)*, (Oxford, 1990).
[614] Houben, *Roger II of Sicily*, pp.98-113.

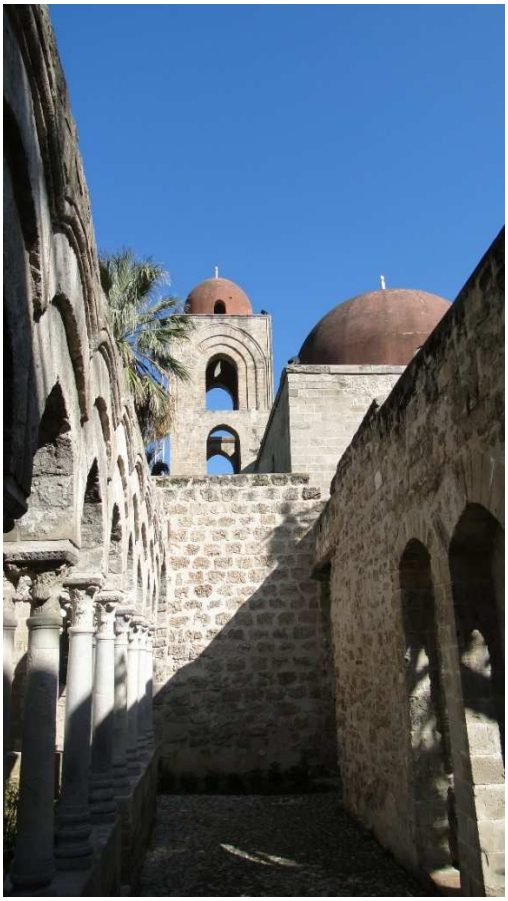

Fig. 2, San Giovanni degli Eremiti, Palermo. Author's photo.

Fig. 3, Santa Maria dell'Ammiraglio and San Cataldo, Palermo. Author's photo.

Fig. 4, Cappella Palatina, Palermo. Author's photo.

Fig. 5, Cappella Palatina, ceiling, Palermo. Author's photo.

While the rest of the chapel has writing in Latin the ceiling uses Kufic writing.

Not all engineering is as enduring as stone churches, and this should not be forgotten when discussing technological transfer. Another important factor would be military engineers and that is one of the groups that actually appear in the chronicles. This is specifically with reference to the Saracen engineers Roger II brought with him in his initial campaigns on the Italian mainland against the rebelling nobles. They appear in one of the key sources supporting Roger, *Ystoria Rogerii* by Alexander of Telese, and one of those opposing him, the chronicle by Falco of Benevento. These Saracens do not play a major role in either account but they appear in similar circumstances, showing their function and relationship with Roger II. *Ystoria Rogerii* has two examples of their participation. The first tells that a group of Saracens had been sent to the newly conquered Bari in 1132 to help build a royal fortress but were killed by the Baresi after the former were accused of murdering the son of a nobleman. The account does not contain any more details of this situation, but here the citizens seemed to treat these Saracens like any other followers of the king, since after their deaths the construction of the fortress was halted altogether and in response to this Roger went there.[615] The second example is from shortly after this, at the siege of Montepeloso, where Roger ordered siege machines to be built, apparently for hurling wood to fill up the ditch surrounding the town. The people operating these machines were apparently 'the Saracens.'[616] While it is only stated that siege engines were built, without saying by whom, the fact that they were operating them, again shows Saracens in association with technology. Since Saracen craftsmen were common, the fact that Roger II used them as such is unsurprising, but their close association with him is

[615] Alexander of Telese, 'History of the Most Serene Roger', II:34 p.90.
[616] Alexander of Telese, 'History of the Most Serene Roger', II:42 p.93.

noteworthy. The citizens of Bari treat them as a direct extension of Roger and their ethnicity and religion did not lead even a monastic writer to see them as separate.

Falco of Benevento, who usually opposed Roger II, also mentioned the king's Saracen followers in the wars on the Italian mainland. Here, there is less description of what they were actually doing, but they are still closely tied to Roger himself, and this is done using some of the tropes of violence discussed in Chapter Four. One of Roger's opponents, Rao de Fragento, allied with Rainulf of Alife, killed some of these Saracens when Roger was retreating and sent their bodies to the Prince of Capua, who in turn sent their heads home as a trophy. [617] In response to this Roger grieved very hard and vowed revenge for their deaths.[618] This very strong reaction is perhaps meant to show Roger as not in control of his own emotions, which, as well as unkingly behaviour, was an unmasculine trait. That this was the thing that brought Roger to vow revenge might also be construed as a negative comment about the king. It was his Saracen, and not his Christian, followers for whom he grieved. Roger had many conflicts both outside and inside of his realm and his close link with Saracens in the early stage of the crusader movement would have been a useful propaganda tool against him.[619] Regardless, the fact that both sources presents Saracens as direct followers, in his army manning siege engines and sent on their own for engineering work, does show the role that Saracens played in the earlier decades of twelfth-century Norman Sicily. This is perhaps something that should be remembered when thinking about the developments of twelfth-century Europe in terms of science and technology, and something that could require further examination. However, in terms of

[617] 'The Chronicle of Falco of Benevento', in *Roger II and the Creation of the Kingdom of Sicily*, ed. and trans. Graham A. Loud (Manchester, 2012), p.196.
[618] 'Chronicle of Falco of Benevento', p.196.
[619] Houben, *Roger II of Sicily*, pp.60-75 and 86-96.

representations of Saracen men, there are other, more prominent examples of cross-cultural interaction.

Uneasy Alliances in the Holy Land

There are in general fewer mentions of Saracens in texts from the Kingdom of Jerusalem than in those from Iberia and Sicily, despite the fact that the majority of the people there would have been either Saracens orE Christians. This was probably because of the crusading context, which promoted animosity between Christians and Saracens, but also because of the relative isolation of the Frankish minority.[620] Even if the writer focused on here, William of Tyre, lived almost his whole life in Outremer he spent very little time writing about the Saracen citizens living there in *Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis*. It should, however, be noted that the chronicle is focused on men of power, so the non-aristocratic Christian population is not included much either. The few indications that Saracens did live in the kingdom come when there are major legal matters to discuss, like at the Council of Nablus 1120, and when the people in Jerusalem were given tax relief and it was specified that Saracens were included.[621] There is a lot more on the main enemies of the crusaders, the Turks, but there are also cases of diplomacy with the other local Saracen power, the Fatimids of Egypt.

While several sources of the First Crusade talk about the envoys from the Fatimids, frequently called the *Babilones*, arriving at Antioch, William of Tyre shows the long

[620] Hillenbrand, *Crusades*, pp.329-330.
[621] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.1 XII:13 pp.535-536 and v.1 XII:15 p.538.

continuation of this, and generally has a relatively sober view of the situation.[622] He states that while the envoys initially wanted to ally with the crusaders, after the Siege of Antioch their attitude had changed and, because the crusaders had weakened the Turks, the Fatimids were more capable of continuing their rivalry with the Turks independently.[623] This is a clear example why many historians see William of Tyre as one of the more reliable medieval chroniclers, since rather than relying on stereotypes he gives a balanced account explaining the motivation for this change.[624] While he, of course, uses tropes and issues central to medieval writing, like attributing the course of events to the will of God, he also offers an explanation that follows a logic more familiar to modern writers of history. There were practical motivations for actions, even among the Saracens. This is the start of the ambiguous relationship between the Latins and the Fatimids in Outremer. With the overall power struggle being between the Sunni Turks and the Shi'ite Fatimids, the Latins had the opportunity to exploit this division and occasionally they received Fatimid support against the Turks.

As was noted earlier, the Turks were the main enemies of the crusaders and generally considered to be similar in their masculinity identities and following similar codes of honour. More cultural differences are brought up by William of Tyre when discussing the Fatimids. This might be because the diplomacy that was more important in their interactions allowed for more depictions of cultural differences, but some of the ways in which he described the Fatimids broadly prefigure Orientalist tropes. While the Turks are often shown as quite similar to the Franks in terms of knightly valour and social norms, the

[622] Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, V p.40; Guibert de Nogent, *The Deeds of God through the Franks*, VII pp.126-127; Robert the Monk, *History of the First Crusade*, IV:16 pp.130-131 and V:1-2 pp.136-138; Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, III:59 p.230-231.
[623] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.1 VII:19 pp.325-326.
[624] Moran Cruz, 'Popular Attitudes toward Islam in Medieval Europe', pp.68-69.

Fatimids are clearly shown as Other. One event that brings forward both the Orientalist imagery and issues about culture clashes is the meeting between the Fatimid Caliph al-'Ādid and the Lord of Caesarea, Hugh Grenier, when agreeing on a treaty joining the efforts of the Caliphate and the Kingdom against the Turkish satrap Shirkuh in 1167. At the ratification of the treaty the sultan, Shawar, greeted al-'Ādid by kissing his feet, assuming that Hugh would show the Caliph the same level of subservience, which Hugh refused to do, instead he insisted that they should shake hands.[625] In the culture clash emerging here, William expressed concern that the Fatimids would not ratify the treaty correctly, showing a fear of treachery and deception since their method of confirming deals was different. There was also the surprise among the Fatimids that Hugh felt so comfortable speaking freely to the Caliph.[626] The Fatimids tried to make Hugh change his stance on this but he showed typical Latin steadfastness, which eventually generated the result he wanted:

> 'Finally, with extreme unwillingness, as if it detracted from his majesty, yet with a slight smile which greatly aggrieved the Egyptians, he put his uncovered hand into that of Hugh. He repeated, almost syllable by syllable, the words of Hugh as he dictated the formula of the treaty and swore that he would keep the stipulations thereof, 'in good faith, without fraud or evil intent.'[627]

This issue with the Saracens' total reverence for the Caliph is clearly not only by nature 'other', but also problematic, since it might come close to idolatry.

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[625] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.2 XIX:19 pp.320-321.
[626] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.2 XIX:19 p.321.
[627] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.2 XIX:19 p.321; William of Tyre, *Chronique*, v.2 XIX:19 p.889: 'bona fide, sine fraude et malo ingenio'. Also, it should be noted that this meeting almost mirrors modern Hollywood movies, in which the lead white, usually male, character refuses to follow demeaning social custom and through that reveals their social enlightenment, as a part of the white saviour trope. While there are certainly some similar issues here, too much should not be read into it so as not to risk applying a later, colonial, trope onto the Middle Ages: see Matthew Hughey, *The White Savior in Film* (Philadelphia, 2014), pp.8-16.

The portrayal of Caliph al-'Ādid is, on the whole, one of exoticism and weakness. Based on a depiction by Hugh of Caesarea himself, he was described as 'a young man of an extremely generous disposition whose first beard was just appearing; he was tall, of swarthy complexion and good frame,'[628] He also had 'a large number of wives',[629] something that would be unthinkable for a Christian ruler. This is not really mentioned for Turkish rulers, even those who had multiple wives. The section preceding the account of the negotiation outlines Hugh of Caesarea's impression of the Fatimid court, and it is clearly described as a place of opulence and exoticism.[630] The Caliph himself is described as focused on leading a life of luxury, letting Shawar deal with actually ruling, to the extent that the Caliph was completely unaware of the issues in his lands.[631] Nothing similar appears with the Turks and there is a greater trend in the text of showing the Fatimids as weaker and less successful in terms of martial masculinity than Latin men as well as also the Turks.

After this treaty was made, the Latins and Fatimids joined forces against the Turks and the armies were described like this:

> Shirkuh had twelve thousand Turks, of whom nine thousand wore the breastplate and helmet and the other three thousand used only bow and arrows. He had in addition ten or eleven thousand Arabs who, according to their custom, fought with lances only. The Christians, on the other hand, had barely three hundred and seventy-four knights besides the worthless and effeminate Egyptians, who were a hindrance and a burden rather than a help. They had also some light-armed cavalry called Turcopoles, but I do not know in what number. Many have told me, however, that in the great conflict of that day these forces were, for the most part, useless.[632]

[628] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.2 XIX:19 p.321; William of Tyre, *Chronique*, v.2 XIX:19 p.889, 'iuvenis prima pubescens languine, fuscus, procerus corpore, facie venusta, liberalis plurimum'.
[629] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.2 XIX:19 p.321; William of Tyre, *Chronique*, v.2 XIX:19 p.889, 'innumeras habens uxores'.
[630] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.2 XIX:18 pp.319-320.
[631] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.2 XIX:20 pp.322-323.
[632] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.2, XIX:25, pp.331; William of Tyre, *Chronique*, XIX:25, p.898, 'Siracunus enim Turcorum habebat deodecim milia, ex quibus novem milia loricis galeisque tegebantur, reliqua tri milia arcubus tantum et saggitis utebantur, preterea Arabum aut decem aut

Even if there are cases in this battle of named Fatimids fighting alongside Christian lords, namely two sons of the sultan, Kamil and Mahadan, respectively joining Milon de Plancy and Hugh d'Ibelin, and Gerard de Pougy, William focused on the deeds of the Latins, particularly Gerard holding the Nile's river bank against Shirkuh.[633] Despite these Saracens clearly being allies of the Latins, they are as a group entirely dismissed as useless and effeminate and individually ignored in favour of their Latin counterparts. This does not happen with their enemy, the Turks, showing that for William the issue was not that Saracens were enemies but that they could be friends. When they became friendly they lost their role as enemy counterparts and instead became weak, effeminate strangers. The Fatimids here have almost assumed the role of the Greeks, the effeminate and weak possible allies of the brave Latins, with leaders who were unsuitable for any kind of martial leadership that was so highly valued among the Christian lords.[634] There seems to be an issue for William to reconcile the idea of a Saracen, the outside martial enemy, with that of an actual ally.

There are more examples of William of Tyre having problems reconciling the idea of the Saracen as both an enemy and an ally, and it is especially clear in the case of the Turkish satrap Tantais, who had control over Bostrum. According to William of Tyre, Tantais travelled to Jerusalem in 1144 in order to oppose the king of Damascus, Mujir al-Dīn, and Damascus' powerful governor Anar (Mu'in ad-Dīn Unur), with whom he was in conflict. He

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undecim milia lanceis pro more utentium. Nostri vero equites vix errant CCCLXXIIII, absque Egyptiis vilibus et effeminatis, qui potius impedimento et oneri essent quam utilitati. Erant preterea nobis equites levis armature, quos Turcopolos vocant, sed nescimus ad quem numerum: multorum quoque relatione audivimus quod illa die in tanto conflictu ex maiore parte prorsus fuerunt inutiles.'

[633] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.2 XIX:22-23 pp.325-329 and v.2 XIX:25 pp.332.

[634] Matthew Bennett, 'Virile Latins, Effeminate Greeks and Strong Women: Gender Definitions on Crusade?' in Edgington, Susan B. and Lambert, Sarah (eds.), *Gendering the Crusades* (Cardiff, 2001), pp.17-18.

offered both the town of Bostrum and the fortress of Selcath to King Baldwin III (r.1143-63) and his mother Queen Melisende (r.1131-53), at the time joint rulers of Jerusalem, in exchange for economic concessions.[635] Despite describing Tantais as a Turkish satrap, William of Tyre did have doubts about his ethnicity: 'The same nobleman, Tantais by name, was said to be an Armenian by birth. He was tall of stature, of agreeable countenance, and his entire bearing gave evidence of a manly spirit' (*virile tota corporis habitudine pretendens animositatem*).[636] The second part of the description is quite the opposite of that portraying the Fatimid warriors and, instead of talking about Tantais as effeminate he is clearly shown as male in both body and spirit, but the important thing here is that he was, according to rumours, Armenian by birth. This would mean that he was not a Saracen at all, but instead an Eastern Christian. Since William does not provide any evidence for this and simply seems to base it on gossip, it is unclear whether this was the truth, rumour, or William trying to reconcile Tantais' friendly efforts with his ethnicity by creating a Christian link, in a fashion similar to how romance writers tried to understand Saladin's chivalrous behaviour. Baldwin decided to take up Tantais' offer, even if it put the two of them in conflict with the Turks, and especially Mu'in ad-Dīn, but it ended in disaster when, after an invasion, the wife of the former governor of Bostrum handed the city over to Mu'in ad-Dīn.[637] While the Christians of the expedition simply returned home defeated, Tantais' fate was worse: 'Shortly after this, that same noble Turk was summoned with pacific words under pretense of reconciliation to the subtle Anar. He met with most shameful treatment, however. The wretched man was blinded and spent the rest of his life in the utmost

[635] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.2 XVI:8 p.146.
[636] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.2 XVI:8 p.147; William of Tyre, *Chronique*,v.2 XVI:8 p.724: 'Erat porro idem nobilis homo, ut dicebatur, Armenus genere, corpore procerus, facie venusta, virile tota corporis habitutdine pretendens animositatem, eratque nomen ei Tantass.'
[637] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.2, XVI:10, pp.152-153.

poverty and misery.'[638] Here, any mention of him being an Armenian is omitted: he is simply a nobleman. While it is certainly possible that Tantais was a Turk, and possibly partly of Armenian descent he cannot have been unique, so the fact that William of Tyre highlights this is what matters. Clearly, his heritage was problematic as a potential Turkish foe, helping the Latins needed to be justified.

Mu'in ad-Dīn himself is a very interesting figure, appearing as the main political leader between the death of Imad ad-Dīn Zangid and the rise of Nūr ad-Dīn. He is portrayed as a figure trying to stabilise the political situation between the Latins and Turks. While Nūr ad-Dīn is represented as more interested in extending his father's conquest, Mu'in ad-Dīn prioritised 'the good of the realm.'[639] He and Baldwin III contracted a temporary peace in 1149, which is why Tantais had to surrender his lands in order to tempt Baldwin III to give up this treaty. The conditions of the peace were that if either side was going to attack the other they would notify in advance, allowing their opposition time to prepare, which was according to regional customs.[640] Uniting with Tantais broke this treaty, something that Baldwin was aware of, but he used the fact that Tantais had become a declared friend as legitimation, something which tells of how close an ally Tantais was considered to be, even if it was only for political benefit.[641] Mu'in ad-Dīn, instead, kept acting much like the other honourable enemy leaders described in Chapter Three, such as the Almohad 'Abd al-Mu'min. Being an enemy and a Turk, he was allowed to maintain his good, masculine rule,

[638] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.2, XVI:13, p.157; William of Tyre, *Chronique*, XVI:13, p.734: 'Postmodum vero idem nobilis homo, ab Ainardo vocatus verbis pacifis in dolo quasi sub specie reconciliationis, male nimis tractatus, nam oculis erutis in summa egestate et miseria vitam miserabiliter nfelicem finire coactus est.' Note that while Tantais is called 'nobilis homo' here, when he is introduced he is first called a 'Turcorum satrapa', see XVI:8 p.723.
[639] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.2 XVI:8 p.148; William of Tyre, *Chronique*, v.2 XVI:8 p.725: 'regni curam'.
[640] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.2 XVI:8, p.148.
[641] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.2 XVI:8 pp.146-148.

unlike the Fatimids. He was, however, still open to treacherous behaviour since Mu'in ad-Dīn summoned Tantais with the promise of reconciliation, before blinding him. Considering Baldwin III's own treachery, this seems more like a reflection of the politics of the region than a cultural judgement of Mu'in ad-Dīn. Despite this treachery William of Tyre even considered himself to have good evidence that Mu'in ad-Dīn had shown a great deal of 'loyalty, sincerity, and steadfastness in various matters.'[642]

Another example of an encounter with a friendly Saracen is slightly curious. It concerns an unnamed Saracen and the episode appears almost legendary in its nature. This event took place earlier in the Kingdom of Jerusalem's history, in the reign of Baldwin I (r.1100-18), after his troops attacked a Saracen camp. Among the Saracen combatants were civilians, including a woman in the later stages of pregnancy, who because of the stress of the battle went into labour and gave birth as the Latins were looting the camp. When Baldwin was told of this, he immediately stopped the looting, and made sure that the woman received food, shelter and a maid to help her, even wrapping her in his own mantle.[643] Shortly thereafter a 'great Arab chief',[644] who ruled the camp and happened to be the woman's husband, appeared and was 'very sorrowful'[645] since he believed that his wife and unborn child had been killed while he was away. But, because Baldwin I had spared her, he found her and was amazed. As a consequence, he praised Baldwin, promising to repay the favour.[646] This event may have never happened, at least not in this way, and the narrative seems based more on chivalric romance than historical reality. It

[642] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.2 XVI:8 p.149; William of Tyre, *Chronique*, v.2 XVI:8 p.726: 'fidei, sinceritatis et constantie'.
[643] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.1 X:11 p.429.
[644] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.1 X:11 p.429; William of Tyre, *Chronique*, v.1 X:10(11) p.465: 'magnus ille Arabum satrapa'.
[645] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.1 X:11 p.429; William of Tyre, *Chronique*, v.1 X:10(11) p.465: 'dolens et tristis'.
[646] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.1 X:11 p.430.

appears to be there primarily to show how good and honourable Baldwin I was and also to explain how he was later rewarded, but also that aiding women in distress was something that was valued even across cultures.[647] At the Battle of Ramlah, 1102, Baldwin fled after being surrounded, and William uses this unnamed Saracen ruler to explain how this happened. Once Baldwin had been surrounded the King sent a message to him:

> The message was conveyed to the king, who listened to it and ordered the prince to be brought before him. On being admitted, the Arab made himself known and recalled to the king's mind the great favour recently rendered to his wife. He declared that he was under undying obligation to repay this kindness by a service somewhat similar. Thereupon he disclosed the enemy's plans and warned the king that he must leave the fortress at once. For at peep of dawn [they] proposed to besiege the place, and all prisoners taken therein would be sentenced to death. He urged the king to depart with him immediately and promised that, by the help of God, he would himself conduct him without hindrance to a place of safety, since he knew that country well. Baldwin finally agreed to flee with the chief. He took with him only a very few of his followers, lest perchance a larger number might rouse the suspicion of the foe. Under the guidance of this chief, he went up into the mountainous country. Here the Arab assured the king that whenever an opportunity presented itself he would show him loyal obedience and ready devotion. He then left him and returned to the army of the foe.[648]

Here the friendly Saracen seems to be included to provide extra drama and an explanation for Baldwin's escape. Despite this, the two are never friends, Baldwin needed to have done something honourable, placing the Saracen ruler in a debt to make the aid legitimate. He is

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[647] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, p.429 n.23.

[648] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.1 X:21 p.445; William of Tyre, *Chronique*, v.1 X:20(21) p.478: 'Quod postquam domino regi nuntiatum est, verbum admisit et illum precepit introduce. Qui admissus regem quia ipse sit edocet, beneficium quod ab eo in uxore susceperat ad memoriam revocans et eiud se intuit obligatum perpetuo ad refundendam vicem non dissimilem se asserens regem instruit ut de presidio egrediatur, consilium pandens hostium, quod summo mane castrum debeant obsidione vallare et omnes intus comprehensos in mortis precipitare sententium. Iuxta quod dominum regem monet ut secum egrediaur, spondens se auctore domino tanquam locorum pretirum eum in tuto sine diffucultate repositurum, tandemque rex egressus cum eo paucissimis comitatus ne forte, si maiores turbas traheret, hostium in se conitaret exercitum, illum sequens ad montana conscendit; ubi predictus nobilis ab eo digrediens ad hostium expeditiones reversus est, obsequium suum et promptam tempore oportuno promittens devotionem.' Note that Babock uses the word 'Arab' for the prince throughout, but the Latin original only calls him 'de Arabia princeps; when he is introduced, earlier in the same paragraph.

represented as obliged to help Baldwin I. William of Tyre generally portrays the Turkish warriors as competent and, perhaps even chivalrous, so rather than Christian lineage, the bond of honour legitimised the Arab chief's later aid of Baldwin III's escape, instead of Christian fraternity. The fact that a woman initially facilitated the relationship also matters. A pregnant woman stopping conflict is not unique and can, for example, be compared with the heavily pregnant Mathilda of Scotland (d.1118) interceding between her husband, King Henry I (r.1100-1135), and her godfather Robert Curthose (d.1134), in 1101.[649] It has also been seen in these sources, with Queen Berengaria at Toledo, that medieval queens could efficiently be used as intercessors. Queens that were – or about to be – mothers, especially pregnant women, were also given special status in terms of intercession, because of the link to the future of the royal line, and the view on pregnancy as something wondrous.[650] Natasha Hodgson has linked this particular event to the idea of motherhood as universal, meaning that it made the cross-cultural actions of courtesy possible.[651] That the person facilitating the relationship between Baldwin I and the unnamed Arab chief was a pregnant woman might have been a justification for a positive relationship developing at all. Rather than showing an example of good relationships between Christians and Saracens in the Holy Land, this only highlights that there seems to have been a reluctance to accept Saracen allies without justification. A good Saracen was meant to act as a worthy enemy, and to fail in this meant that they were unable to fulfil their role, which could be linked to a lack of male prowess. The examples of Tantais and the Arab chief show how this was justified while allowing them to remain within the role of the Turks as mirrors of Christian

[649] Aird, *Robert Curthouse Duke of Normandy*, p.207.
[650] John Carmi Parsons, 'The Pregnant Queen as Counsellor and the Medieval Construction of Motherhood', in *Medieval Mothering*, ed. John Carmi Parsons and Bonnie Wheeler, pp. 39-61
[651] Natasha Hodgson, *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land in Historical Narrative* (Woodbridge, 2007), p.170.

knights. If there were no such legitimation, as in the case of the Fatimids, they were shown as failing in their role as the ideal enemy of the Latins in the Holy Land. This made them more subordinate in their masculinity than the Turks. The alliances with Mu'in ad-Dīn were different, since he engaged in diplomacy while firmly remaining as an opponent. With Mu'in ad-Dīn there were only truces, no alliances, which meant that there was no need to justify, or effeminise, him.

Saracen Lords: El Cid and Zaragoza

While the situation in the Holy Land was to some degree clear cut, with Latins, Greeks, Turks and Fatimids being clearly distinct groups, although sometimes allied, the situation in the Iberian Peninsula was more complex. This is evident even in *Cantar de Mio Cid*, despite its emphasis on war with the Saracen. The titular hero of the romance had a good Saracen friend, Abengalbón. It should be noted that he was probably a purely fictional character and he does not appear in *Historia Roderici* or *Carmen Campi Doctoris*. While Abengalbón has been more widely discussed by others, and will later be used for comparison, there are other useful examples of honourable Saracens from *Historia Roderici*. These are primarily from the time of Rodrigo's first exile, 1080-1086.

Rodrigo became involved in the *Taifa* of Zaragoza after his exile, and worked under three successive lords of the Hudid dynasty, father, son, and grandson. Al-Muqtadir (r.1049-82), the first of these, was described as being 'very fond of Rodrigo and set him over and exalted him above his kingdom and all his land, relying upon his counsel in all

things.'[652] The relationship with his son al-Mu'tamin (r.1082-85) was even closer, and he 'raised Rodrigo above his own son and over his kingdom and over all his land.'[653] This might at first glance be an example of Louise Mirrer's trope of the effeminate and peaceful 'friendly Moor', here found in a chronicle, but taking the whole text into account this seems unlikely. Instead it acts as a contrast to Rodrigo's treatment at the court of León, as al-Muqtadir took the advice of the more righteous Rodrigo, whereas Alfonso VI listened to court gossip. As it has been suggested that Rodrigo himself showed royal ambitions later in his life with the conquest of Valencia, which may have carried on in his depictions, to be recognised as of high status another ruler may perhaps be seen as a foreshadowing of this.[654] This does not necessarily mean that the author was promoting this as a general view of Saracen lords, as there are other less positive depictions of rulers in the story, notably the Almoravid Yusuf, but Rodrigo's close ties to the amirs is not ignored. A comparison can perhaps be drawn between the relationship of Rodrigo and al-Mu'tamin, and that between Beowulf and Hrothgar, the latter is a king unable to defend his own realm, taking in a strong outside warrior who became adopted by Hrothgar as a son, a mostly symbolic act.[655] The difference here is that Rodrigo and al-Mu'tamin are from much more different backgrounds than the two Scandinavians. There might still be a level of de-masculinisation, as Mary Dockray-Miller has argued, for Hrothgar was unable to protect his realm.[656] This

[652] 'Historia Roderici', (2000), ch.12 p.105; 'Historia Roderici', (1990), in *Chronica Hispana Saecvli XII*, ed. Emma Falque, Juan Gil and Antonio Maya (Turnholt, 1990), ch.12, p.52: 'multum diligebat Rodericum et preposuit et exaltauit eum super rugnum suum et super omnen terram suam utens in omnibus consilio eius'.
[653] 'Historia Roderici' (2000), ch.17, p.108; 'Historia Roderici (1990), ch.17, p.54, 'uero exaltauit et sublimauit Rodericum in diebus suis super filium suum et super regnum suum et super omnem terram suam'.
[654] Simon Barton, 'El Cid, Cluny and the Medieval Spanish *Reconquista*', in *The English Historical Review*, 126:520 (2011), pp.517-543.
[655] *Beowulf*, ed. and trans. Seamus Heaney (London, 1999), p.30; Michael D.C Drout, 'Blood and Deeds: The Inheritance Systems in "Beowulf"', in *Studies in Philology*, 104:2 (2007), pp.199-226.
[656] Mary Dockray-Miller, '*Beowulf*'s Tears of Fatherhood', in *Exemplaria*, 10:1 (1998), pp.1-28.

ability to protect their realms was certainly an issue for Saracen lords in the *taifa* period, with independent Muslim lords sometimes unable to defend themselves. This meant that even if al-Mu'tamin could embrace a level of spiritual fatherhood in the form of lordship, he needed help, but he could ask for it without shame and provide Rodrigo with wealth in return. Rodrigo's ties with the lords of Zaragoza were certainly close, and his nickname, 'the Cid', which he acquired in his own lifetime was in fact a Latinisation, or perhaps a Castilianisation, of the Arabic word *Sayyid*, meaning Lord.[657]

The question is to what extent these Muslim lords assumed the role that should have been held by Alfonso VI. Both al-Muqtadir and al-Mu'tamin, unlike Alfonso, are portrayed as having exceedingly good relationships with Rodrigo. Their space in the *Historia Roderici* is, however, limited as al-Muqtadir is only briefly mentioned as receiving Rodrigo into his court before dying, with al-Mu'tamin's succession appearing in a slightly longer section. During that time the two men are shown as having a strong level of interaction, with Rodrigo being one of the key supporters of al-Mu'tamin and Zaragoza. Al-Mu'tamin's succession struggle with his brother al-Hayib, who allied with Rodrigo's Christian rival, Berenguar of Barcelona, created an almost mirror rivalry between the two Christian knights and the two Muslim lords, but Rodrigo and al-Mu'tamin triumphed.[658] Overall, Rodrigo's youth under the lords of Zaragoza appears to be the time when he built his reputation as he was both fighting successfully and appropriately rewarded. His early martial deeds under Sancho II of Castile received attention and rewarded him with marriage to Jimena, which was an important confirmation of adulthood, and he obviously fought well enough under Alfonso VI to create jealousy on the latter's part. However, it was

[657] Fletcher, *Quest for El Cid*, p.3.
[658] 'Historia Roderici' (2000), ch.14-16 pp.106-107.

really in exile that he was able to display his martial deeds without being hindered, either by his youth or the slanderous talks of his rivals.[659] He is shown as fighting well, in a legitimate manner, despite his allegiances, and achieving rightful rewards for his services. In fact, one of the most meaningful sections here is when, after Rodrigo proves his worth in Zaragoza, Alfonso VI tries to get him to return to court but, since the king was still guided by his jealousy, Rodrigo rejected his former lord and returned to Zaragoza and al-Mu'tamin who 'welcomed him fittingly'.[660] The author clearly contrasts Alfonso VI and al-Mu'tamin, favouring the latter and showing him as a more just and legitimate lord. This fits in well with the general feel of the chronicle, with Christians and Muslims fighting alongside each other as often as against each other. The relationship between Rodrigo and al-Mu'tamin is portrayed as the most effective model of the lord-vassal relationship in the *Historia Roderici*, although it is as his own lord that Rodrigo performs his greatest deed in capturing Valencia. But, without al-Mu'tamin Rodrigo would not have been able to reach that point and it is not until after al-Mu'tamin's death that Rodrigo properly becomes his own master.

Al-Mu'tamin was succeeded by his son al-Musta'in (r.1085-1110), with whom Rodrigo stayed for nine years before finally returning to the service of Alfonso VI following another pardon.[661] Here Alfonso gave him the right to keep any land he captured from the Saracens, which would be important for him claiming Valencia, and also echoes the settlement charters (*fueros*), of the period. Just as the charters, the land acquired should not only belong to Rodrigo, but his descendants, creating a lasting a change of allegiance.[662]

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[659] 'Historia Roderici' (2000), ch.4-6 pp.100-101.
[660] 'Historia Roderici' (2000), ch.19 p.109; 'Historia Roderici' (1990), ch.19 p.56: 'diligenter ibidem receipit'.
[661] 'Historia Roderici' (2000), ch.24-26 pp.112-113.
[662] 'Historia Roderici' (2000), ch.26 p.113; 'Historia Roderici' (1999), ch.26 p.59: 'quod omnem terram uel castella, que ipsimet posset adquirere a Sarracenis in terra Sarracenorum, iure hereditario prorsus essent sua, non solum sua uerum etiam filiorum suorum et filiarum suarum et tocius sue generationis'.

Central medieval settlement charters often limited the rights of Muslims in order to make sure that the lands properly fell under the rule of the Christian kingdoms, and even Jewish communities gained more rights in order to bring the newly conquered areas under Christian control.[663] It should, however, be noted that this development of pushing out the Muslims while favouring Jews was not always the case in the period, and a genuine charter by Alfonso VI gave the same rights to Christians, Jews and Muslims in Miranda del Ebro, showing less concern about religious affiliation in the twelfth century than later.[664]

Despite having returned to the service of a Christian lord Rodrigo still remained on good terms with al-Musta'in. When faced with yet another conspiracy by Berenguar of Barcelona, al-Musta'in warned Rodrigo of this, to which Rodrigo responded calling him his 'faithful friend' (*amico fideli*) , despite the fact that the reason al-Musta'in knew of the plot was that he had made peace with Berenguar.[665] After this, the correspondence between Rodrigo and Berenguar appears to have been made though al-Musta'in.[666] That communication between two Christians was conducted through a Saracen is not represented as unusual in the chronicle, which speaks to the cross-cultural experience in the Iberian Peninsula. Later, when al-Musta'in was under threat by King Sancho of Aragón, he invoked Rodrigo's help and Rodrigo acted as a mediator between the two, filling a similar role to the one that al-Musta'in had filled between himself and Berenguar, showing him as more equal in status to Musta'in compared with his father or grandfather.[667] There are many examples of the Christian warlord and the Muslim lord working together and

[663] Examples from *Church, State and Jew in the Middle Ages*, ed. Robert Chazan (New York, 1980), pp.69-73.
[664] Jonathan Ray, 'The Jew in the Text: What Christian Charters Tell Us About Medieval Jewish Society', in *Medieval Encounters*, 16 (2010), p.260.
[665] 'Historia Roderici' (2000), ch.37 pp.122-123; 'Historia Roderici' (1990), ch.37 p.70.
[666] 'Historia Roderici' (2000), ch.38-39 pp.123-126.
[667] 'Historia Roderici' (2000), ch.47-48 pp.131-132.

supporting each other, and when the Almoravid leader Yusuf sought support from other Muslim leaders, including al-Musta'in, he was denied aid, and al-Musta'in told him to fight on his own.[668] Despite this, there seems to have been a level of distrust as Rodrigo threatened al-Musta'in not to change sides, which is reasonable considering the Almoravid invasion created great tensions. The author states that al-Musta'in only rejected the call because he was 'mightily afraid of Rodrigo'.[669] This is the final mention of al-Musta'in and it is surprising given the previous interactions in which they are depicted on good terms. Here there is without doubt tension between the two. Although this probably arose from the Almoravid invasion, it remains surprising to see their relationship regress so quickly. In fact, while the two previous kings of Zaragoza were clearly functioning as good lords of Rodrigo, al-Musta'in plays the role of an ally and friend, shown by the previous mention of him as *amicus fidelis*. This section of the text might reveal fear that this external threat would change the friendship, but it does not change the fact that while Rodrigo was clearly a subject of al-Muqtadir and al-Mu'tamin and his relationship with al-Musta'in was represented as one of friendship, there emerged some underlying tension linked to Rodrigo's growing power. The author of the chronicle could have chosen, like the later romance, to limit the importance of the relationship between Rodrigo and the lords of Zaragoza, but decided not to. The representation of the relationships are important, since they are shown as mostly similar to those between Christian knights and their lords.

[668] 'Historia Roderici' (2000), ch.70 p.143.
[669] 'Historia Roderici' (2000), ch.70 p.143; 'Historia Roderici' (1990), ch.70 p.94: 'Roderici pauore perterritus'.

Friendship and Subjugation: Firuz and Sayf al-Dawla

Even if Rodrigo did eventually become a lord in his own right, it was al-Musta'in who had the upper hand in terms of official power. But there are also examples of friendship where Christians were socially dominant. While the main example of this comes from the Iberian Peninsula, it is important to mention a figure from the First Crusade, Firuz. Firuz, or as he was called in the Latinised accounts, Pirus or Pyrrus, was a citizen of Antioch who during the siege by the crusaders befriended Bohemond of Taranto, eventually letting him into the city leading to its fall to the Latins, just before the Turkish reinforcements arrived. Although he was living in a Turkish-controlled city that does not necessarily mean that he was a Saracen and there has been some discussion as to whether he was a Christian or a Muslim. Rosalind Hill suggested that he was a Christian, since Raymond d'Aguilers called him a *Turcatus*, a word which Hill believed meant that he was a Turkish renegade, and therefore a Christian.[670] Using the *Gesta Francorum*, supported by Arabic sources, Benjamin Z. Kedar instead concluded that he was a convert from Islam to Christianity, so ethnically still a Saracen, but this might have either happened after the siege, or simply have been a way for the Islamic material to denounce him because of apostasy.[671] The third eyewitness account, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, calls him a Turk.[672] Rebecca L. Slitt has put forward the argument that Firuz was not only a Saracen but also lowborn, partly based on the fact that Arabic sources did not call him Christian, and due the the context, specifically that the medieval writers had problems reconciling his friendship with Bohemond, one of the key leaders of

[670] *Gesta Francorum*, p.44 n.1
[671] Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, pp.61-62; Rebecca L. Slitt, 'Justifying Cross-Cultural Friendship: Bohemond, Firuz, and the Fall of Antioch', in *Viator*, 38:2 (2007), p.345.
[672] Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, I:17, p.231. The word used is 'Turci'.

the crusade with his social role, which the later chronicles attempt to elevate.[673] Not only was he a Saracen, but compared to the noble Christian warrior, he was a non-combatant commoner, who betrayed his city, and yet they were friends. Rather than removing any mention of their friendship, since it was central to the events at Antioch, instead Firuz's social status, ethnicity and religion were changed in representations of him. This, together with Kedar's argument, makes the case for Firuz being a Saracen, who then converted, more appealing, even if not all Latin chronicles agree with this. Some sources even claim that he was a Christian from the start, with no mention of conversion, and one of these sources is William of Tyre's chronicle.[674]

William of Tyre was one of the few who represented Firuz as lowborn but Firuz is described as a Christian. This agrees with Slitt's overall conclusion:

> 'The chroniclers either made Firuz into the equivalent of a Christian nobleman, capable of participating in the *amicitia* that Christian nobles enjoyed; or they weakened Firuz to enhance the image of the Crusade leader's strength. In its beginning and ending, the Latin chroniclers of Western Europe rewrote what could have been a story of a cross-cultural friendship and changed it into a narrative of Christian power.'[675]

While William's choice to possibly change Firuz's religious identity coincided with general trends, it can also be placed in the context of his own representations of friendly Saracens. From effeminising Fatimids, to finding Christian heritage in Tantais, or making sure good deeds were being kept within the strict bonds of chivalric actions between enemies, and here William of Tyre was already aware of preceding writers changing the religion of Firuz. He is one of the writers who gives the most attention to Firuz in the account of the siege of

[673] Slitt, 'Justifying Cross-Cultural Friendship', pp.343-346.
[674] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.1 V:12 p.243.
[675] Slitt, 'Justifying Cross-Cultural Friendship', p.349.

Antioch, bringing in his family drama, including his wife's affair with a Turk and his brother's attempt to stop him from letting the crusaders into the city, causing Firuz to kill him. To promote the idea of Firuz being a Christian, William also stated that he came from a family that, for generations, had been oppressed by the Turks, building this incident into a compelling revenge narrative.[676]

Most of the accounts of the First Crusade, from the earliest in the *Gesta Francorum*, show the relationship between Bohemond and Firuz as one of friendship, framed in terms of homosociality and vassalage.[677] William of Tyre framed Firuz's bond to Bohemond in terms of a friendship that they kept secret during the siege:

> A wise and discreet man, he was careful to hide his [friendship] with Bohemond, as far as possible, for he feared that, if it became known to others, he and his family might be in danger. Bohemond, on his part, was also reticent about his intimacy with this good man and kept it secret within his own heart. Consequently, not the slightest suspicion of their friendship or of the messengers going back and forth between them was betrayed, even to the servants or household of either.[678]

Later, Bohemond talked about Firuz, saying: 'I have a loyal friend in the city'.[679] The words used here, '*amicitia*' and '*familiaritas*' show the link between the two men was not simply an alliance, but framed as actual friendship. This makes the inclusion of Firuz's murder of his brother, when he was trying to stop Firuz from letting in Bohemond, an indication of Firuz choosing loyalty to the latter over his brother by blood. Unlike in

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[676] William of Tyre, *History of the Deeds*, v.1 V:11-12 pp.241-243.
[677] *Gesta Francorum*, VIII:20 pp.44-45.
[678] William of Tyre, *History of the Deeds*, v.1 V:11 pp.242; William of Tyre, *Chronique*, v.1 V:11 p.287: 'Dissimulabat autem quantum poterat, sicuti vir discretus erat et prudens, hanc quam cum domino Boamuno contraxerat familiaritatem, ne forte aliis cognita sibi et suis posset esse in periculum. Dominus quoque vesa vica hanc boni viri occultabat amicitiam et archanum penes se quasi sepultum comprimebat, ita ut nec eorum familiaritatis et discurretis internuntii etiam utriusque domestici et contectales nullum vel leve possent colligere argumentum.'
[679] William of Tyre, *History of the Deeds*, v.1 V:16 p.248; William of Tyre, *Chronique*, v.1 V.16 p.292, 'Amicum habeo in civitate fidelem'.

previous accounts, where the death of the brother is only mentioned as a side note, William gave Firuz a lot more agency. According to him Firuz killed his brother as he was sleeping so that he would not wake up and stop him, whereas other accounts depict his brother dying in the fighting.[680] Killing a close kinsman in his sleep is obviously problematic, even for a just cause, and William described it as 'an act at once pious and wicked.'[681] He had chosen not only the Christian cause but also his friendship with Bohemond over his own family. He immediately showed Bohemond what he had done:

> 'because he had murdered his own brother who would not join him in a work so holy, he led the chief into his tower and showed him the dead body of his brother lying in its own gore. Lord Bohemond embraced that man of true and steadfast loyalty with heartfelt emotion; then, returning to the battlements'[682].

Other than this, the other main comment on Firuz is that he was 'a very shrewd and quick-witted man.'[683] There are several moral issues associated with this representation of Firuz, arising from the fact that he was of non-noble status together with the dishonourable way he murdered his own brother. Yet, that he had a relationship with Bohemond is without question. William's description of Firuz as a Christian, when he was more likely a Saracen, echoes the way in which he tried to make Tantais a Christian, although this change to Firuz's identity can be found elsewhere. This was clearly a case of cross-cultural friendship

[680] *Gesta Francorum*, VIII:20 pp.46-47; Guibert de Nogent, *Deeds of God through the Franks*, p.92; Robert the Monk, *History of the First Crusade*, V:13-14 pp.145-147; William of Tyre, *History of the Deeds*, v.1 V:21 pp.255-256

[681] William of Tyre, *History of the Deeds*, v.1 V:21 p.256; William of Tyre, *Chronique*, v.1 V:21 p.299, 'facto pius et sceleratus eodem.'

[682] William of Tyre, *History of the Deeds*, v.1 V:21 p.256; William of Tyre, *Chronique*, v.1 V:21 pp.299-300: 'quod fratrem uterinum in opera tam sancto non consentientem transverberaverat, inducit eum in turrim et fratrem ostendit examinem, proprio sanguine cruentatum. Deosculatus igitus dominus Boamundus viri constantiuam et fidei sinceritatem, ad murum rediens'.

[683] William of Tyre, *History of the Deeds*, v.1 V:18 pp.251; William of Tyre, *Chronique*, v.1 V:18 p.295: 'vir industrius erat'.

and William's attempt to disguise it reveals the issues of writing about this within the context of the crusades.

The situation was different in the Iberian Peninsula. Honourable treaties were a part of everyday life and surrenders were generally honoured, and as already described sometimes these came with the request of a change of sides. This was the case for Abenfandi (Ibn Hamdī), the governor of Córdoba discussed in Chapter Three, who was joined by the Galician knight Fernando Yañez after ceding him Andújar in 1146, during the Almoravid onslaught.[684] But, as seen with Rodrigo Díaz, there were also cases when alliances emerged even without a surrender. However, while Rodrigo was the vassal in most of his dealings with the emirs of Zaragoza, there was another case where it was the Saracen who was in the less dominant position. Zafadola (Sayf al-Dawla), was the grandson of al-Musta'in, and claimed Zaragoza from 1131 to his death in 1146, although the *taifa* was primarily in Almoravid hands at the time. Since the territories he tried to control were under pressure from both Christians in the North, and the Almoravids in the South, Sayf al-Dawla was forced to choose sides, and he chose Alfonso VII. Sayf al-Dawla had lost his lands and really only had his lineage and the castle of Rueda de Jalon that he had been granted by the Castilians.[685] He is introduced early in the account, after the main conflict with Aragón had been resolved:

> 'At that time there was a Saracen king in Rueda called Zafadola. He was of the most illustrious lineage of the kings of the Hagarenes. All the deeds that had been performed by King Alfonso of León against the king of Aragon resounded in his ears: how our king had besieged him and how the king of Aragon had sworn to give him back his kingdom, had lied and had become a perjurer.'[686]

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[684] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:99-100 p.245.
[685] Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, p.194.
[686] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), I:27 p.175; 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (1990), I:27 p.162: 'Temporibus illis erat quidam rex Sarracenus in Rota nomine Zafadola et erat rex ex maximo semine regum Agarenorum. Et personuerunt in auribus eius omnia gesta, que facta sunt ab

His situation was dire, since the Almoravids had killed many of the other emirs and taken Zafadola's lands, confining him and his followers in Rueda.[687] Being in this position, and hearing of Alfonso's good reputation, he summoned his court and his family and made a stirring speech:

> 'Listen to my counsel: let us go to the king of León and let us make him king over us, our lord and friend, for I know that he will rule over the land of the Saracens, because God in heaven is his deliverer, and God on high is his help. I know that with his assistance my children and I will recover the other dominions that the Moabites plundered from me, from my parents and from my people.'[688]

This reveals both the propaganda of the text, supporting Alfonso, but also the motivation for Sayf al-Dawla himself. The speech itself is clearly invented by the author, a *sermocinatio* used to conjure up Sayf al-Dawla more vividly.[689]

Sayf al-Dawla's entire court moved to that of Alfonso VII, bringing gifts as would be customary. While the fact that they were received well was probably expected, the Saracen nobles were surprised by the fact that when Alfonso received Sayf al-Dawla he 'made him sit with him on the royal throne'.[690]While this might seem like being treated as an equal, what followed indicated subordination as Sayd al-Dawla 'and his sons made themselves knights of the king and promised to serve him all the days of his life, and he granted Rueda

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Adefonso rege Legionis contra regem Aragonensem, et quomodo rex noster incluisset eum et quomodo ipse rex Aragonensis iurauerat ei dare suum regnum et mentitus est et periurus factus est.'

[687] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), I:27 p.176.

[688] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), I:27 p.176; 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (1990), I:27 p.163: 'Audite consilium meum: et eamus ad regem Legionis et faciamus eum regem super nos et dominum et amicum nostrum, quia, sicut ego noui, ipse dominabitur terre Sarracenorum, quia Deus celi liberator eius est et Deus excelsus adiutor eius est. Et scio quia per ipsum recuperabo ego et filii mei alios honores, quoa abstulerunt Moabites mihi et patribus et gentibus meis.'

[689] Kempshall, *Rhetoric and the Writing of History*, pp.339-340.

[690] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), I:28 p.176; 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (1990), I:28, p.163: 'fecit eum sedere secum in solio regali'.

to him.'[691] He was also granted some lands in the centre of the zone of conflict against the Almoravids, namely Toledo, the symbolic centre of the conflict.[692] While this might seem a step down for Sayf al-Dawla in terms of status, going from an independent emir to a follower of a king, it needs to be remembered that the chronicle was trying to show Alfonso VII as an emperor. Having kings swear fealty to him was a central part of confirming that status. Sayf al-Dawla maintained an important role, with his sons tied to Alfonso VII as his knights, and the same request of obedience to Alfonso VII also applied to Christian rulers.[693] Sayf al-Dawla took part in Alfonso's secret counsel and marched alongside his lord against the Almoravids, making him an important figure in terms of military command and friendship.[694] Sayf al-Dawla's role was that of Alfonso's vassal, and one of strategic importance, even if his role as aspiring king is clear in the source.[695] His status was not as high as that of Alfonso VII, but it was high enough that Sayf al-Dawla being a vassal of Alfonso in turn could raise Alfonso's status.

In the earliest campaigns in which Sayf al-Dawla participated, he appears to have become a contact point for those Saracens wishing to switch their loyalties from the Almoravids to Alfonso. This role, standing with one foot among the Saracens and one at Alfonso's side, remained important. It is similar to those played by Rodrigo and al-Musta'in in *Historia Roderici*.[696] Simon Barton and Richard Fletcher have noted that Sayf al-Dawla quotes the Old Testament, which was a way in which the author showed a difference

[691] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), I:29 p.177; 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (1990), I:29 p.164: 'Et ipse et filii eius fecerunt se milites regis et promiserunt ei seruire ipse cum filiis suis cunctis diebus uite sue et dedit ei Rotam.'
[692] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), I:29 p.177.
[693] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), I:70 p.193.
[694] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), I:33-34 pp.178-179.
[695] Reilly, *Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VII*, 38-41.
[696] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), I:41 p.181.

between 'good' and 'bad' Saracens.[697] In the second book of *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, once Alfonso VII of Castile was making more military progress, more Saracens came to the conclusion that they were only being used by the Almoravids, and that Alfonso would be a better lord:

> 'returning to their mosques, they prayed, asking their pseudo-prophet Mohammed for mercy, so that he might help them in their undertakings and actions. Sending messengers, they called upon King Zafadola and all the lineage of the kings of the Hagarenes to come and make war on the Moabites.'[698]

Sayf al-Dawla was here directly referred to as the main Saracen opponent to the Almoravids. Following this he joined the fight that drove the Almoravids out of Córdoba, which shows that he kept his important role as warrior, leader, and friend of the Christians, while still clearly a Saracen with no indication of conversion.[699]

Sayf al-Dawla was also seen as a threat by those Saracens supporting the Almoravids, including Ibn Hamdī before his surrender. Ibn Hamdī was a powerful person, described as the wealthiest person in Córdoba as well as an *imam*, one of the few examples of Muslim religious leaders in these chronicles. Using this power, he summoned other Saracen lords, including the *adalid* (Andalusian military rank) of Calatrava Farax, and told them to kill Sayf al-Dawla so that he could become their ruler instead, a plot which Zafadola discovered:

> 'This plan did not escape the attention of King Zafadola, and he summoned all his faithful Christian knights and foot-soldiers, whom he had in his retinue, and he left Córdoba with them, together with the *adalid* Farax. King Zafadola said to the *adalid* Farax: 'Since you wished to betray me, I will make sure that you are unable to do

[697] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), n. 83 p.177.
[698] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:93 p.242; 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (1990), II:93 p.240: 'conuersi in synagogis suis orabant petentes miserationes Mohametis, pseudoprophete eorum, ut adiuuaret ceptus et actus eorum. Et mittentes uocabant regem Zafafolam et omne semen regum Agarenorum, ut uenirent et bellarent contra Moabitas.'
[699] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris', II:94 p.242-243.

so.' And turning to the Christians he said 'Attack him and kill him'; and they killed him there and then.'[700]

Interesting to note is that this section shows Sayd al-Dawla having loyal Christian followers that he used against his own Saracen foes. The fact that he lured Farax out to have him killed is not portrayed as treacherous or cowardly, unsurprising considering that the Iberian material in general portrayed such tactics in a positive light. This was an intelligent way to deal with the difficulty, since he might have been in a worse situation had he remained in Córdoba. While it was clear in the beginning that Sayf al-Dawla had Saracen followers, it appears that his role under Alfonso in Toledo had given him Christian followers as well, indicating that he was treated in a very similar manner to Christian lords.

Unfortunately this incident led to the death of Sayf al-Dawla. He was attacked by more Saracens in response to the death of Farax and he asked Alfonso VII for help. The latter responded by sending him a number of counts. After fighting together, they started to disagree over how to divide the booty. The source states that Sayf al-Dawla demanded all the loot, but the Christian counts refused to do this, resulting in a battle in which the counts cornered Sayf al-Dawla and killed him.[701] When King Alfonso heard of this, he was saddened by the death of his 'friend Sayf al-Dawla' (*Zafadola amici mei*) but did not consider himself culpable.[702] The source does not record whether the counts were punished for this, even if someone should have been in the wrong here. The representation

[700] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:95 p.243; 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (1990), II:95 p.241: 'Que causa nonlatuit regi Zafadole et uocauit omnes suos fideles milites et pedites Christianos, quos habebat in comitatu suo, et exit cum eis de Corduba et Farax adali cum eo et dixit rex Zafadola Farax adali: "Quia tu meus proditor esse uoluisti, ne tu ad id pertingere uales, conabor". Et respiciens Christianos ait: "Irruite in eum et interficite". Qui statim interfecerunt eum.'
[701] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:96-98 pp.243-245.
[702] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:98 p.245; 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (1990), II:98 p.243.

of the events in the source indicates that there might have been a confusion over the hierarchy in the force. Sayf al-Dawla was clearly seeing himself as the main commander, since he was a king, and the one who had asked for help, while the counts saw themselves as equals to Sayf al-Dawla, all vassals of Alfonso VII. There might have been cultural clashes over the division of loot, but with alliances across cultural borders being common that seems less likely. That it resulted in the death of Sayd al-Dawla might reveal a level of resentment among the counts against the Saracen lord, perhaps because of his good treatment by the king as well. That the king expressed both sadness and called him a friend shows that their relationship was certainly defined as a friendship.

While the modern idea of friendship is defined by a personal connection, friendship had more formal implications in the Middle Ages. Gerd Althoff has suggested that friendship was a link between two or more equals, a formalised bond, that can be described as similar to kinship, but without marriage or blood ties.[703] Not every ally was a friend, and the previous examples of Saracen and Latin fighters joining sides should mostly be considered alliances, not friendships. The relationships between Bohemond and Firuz, Rodrigo and al-Musta'in, and Alfonso and Sayd al-Dawla were clearly labelled as friendships, but the notion of equality is an issue. Their bonds do, however, constitute homosocial relationships, since examples from *chansons de geste* often had one of the men in a more subordinate context, like Roland and Oliver or Raoul and Bernier.[704] Bohemond and Firuz were evidently not social equals, but since their relationship is so readily described as a friendship, this might be a reflection of the perceived truth by the authors. Slitt's analysis of the issues reconciling their separation in religion and class might reveal an

[703] Althoff, *Family, Friends and Followers*, p.66.
[704] Ailes, 'Medieval Male Couple', pp.221 and 223.

issue with the real friendship, the representation being an idealised version of it. As seen with William of Tyre, depicting worthy enemies was fine, but positive representation of the Saracen was an issue. This problem does not seem to appear in the Iberian material. While the relationship between Alfonso and Sayf al-Dawla might not seem as close as that associated with modern friendships, it was in the medieval mind. Also, while it was not portrayed as being as close as those seen in medieval romances and *chansons de geste* like C*hanson de Roland*, those types of portrayals are less common in chronicles. Again, genre conventions matter. The fact that they are described as friends, that Sayf al-Dawla was treated almost like an equal and that Alfonso grieved, does suggest a close relationship. Even if the chronicle focused on Alfonso as an emperor, he and Sayf al-Dawla were still both kings, even if one had lost his lands. That means that they were, more or less, from the same social category, even if Alfonso VII was the dominant partner in the relationship.

Returning to Mirrer's interpretation of Saracen men in Castilian romances, we might ask whether these were simply good deeds from men weaker than their Christian counterparts? There certainly seem to be some issues with accepting Saracen allies in many of these accounts, even if they appear to be a lot more prominent in the chronicles from the Holy Land than that from the Iberian Peninsula. To make valid comparisons, it might be worth returning to *Cantar el Mio Cid* and bring in Rodrigo's fictional Saracen friend, Abengalbón. Although most of the studies on homosociality have focused on France and England, similar attitudes can be seen in the Iberian accounts, especially in the *Cantar*.[705] Since domination and proving oneself to other men was central to medieval performances of masculinity, the emphasis on Christians and Muslims fighting for and with each other is exactly why there is not only conflict but also male friendship in Iberia, since the situation

[705] Matthew Bennett, 'Military Masculinity', p.85; Ailes, 'Medieval Male Couple', pp.214-215.

often required cross-cultural alliances.[706] Historians often exaggerate the division between Christians and Muslims, as did the later medieval sources. However, for the chaotic twelfth century with weak *taifas*, Christian pariah knights, and the Almoravid invasion this was a lot less clear. Although there was certainly conflict inspired by notions of holy war, especially in the wake of the Almoravid invasion, there is no mention of conversion, even in the religiously inflected accounts. There were clearly racial, ethnic, and religious divisions, but these did not necessarily conform to the clearly defined borders on modern maps representing the region in the Middle Ages. In order to represent the medieval Iberian view of Saracen masculinity, we must be cautious so as not to write history by imposing the modern on the medieval, following one of the aims of medieval post-colonial studies.[707] The societies described in these medieval texts are ones with very open cultural borders, even if people are identified with particular ethnicities and religions. This was the milieu in which depictions of Saracen men would have been very different from those in, for example, the Crusader states, where there was less friendly interaction between social equals across cultures.

Cantar el Mio Cid is the only one of the examples in this chapter which is a vernacular epic, but it also the only of the sources here which is used by Mirrer. She points out that Abengalbón, the governor of Molina and ally of the Cid, is an *amigo*, which she believes is a trope that showed Muslims as too generous and lacking in aggression compared to Christians, therefore failing in their masculinity.[708] However, although Abengalbón may not have been seen as enjoying acts of violence as much as some of Rodrigo's Christian followers, he is not one to back away from them. When a conspiracy by

[706] Karras, *From Boys to Men*, pp.10-11.
[707] Ingham and Warren, 'Introduction', p.13.
[708] Mirrer, *Women, Jews, and Muslims*, pp.49-50.

the *Infantes de Carrión* to kill him is revealed, he faces and defeats the *Infantes* on his own, without calling on his Christian friend for help.[709] He is a Moor who is described as a friend by the Cid, although he remains independent.[710] Among the Saracens in the *Cantar* he is the one who gets the most attention, appearing at two key events: helping Rodrigo's Christian follower Minaya and fighting the *Infantes*. He is shown as wealthy and an exceptional horseman, two things that are not uncommonly associated with Saracens. His cultural Otherness is shown when greeting Minaya: 'he came forward to embrace him, kissing him on the shoulder as was his custom'.[711] When the *Infantes* scheme to kill him at their wedding to the daughters of the Cid, in order to take his money, he is warned by one of his own men who understood their language, a '*moro latinado*', who had overheard them talking.

Abengalbón is definitely represented as a Saracen, but with a good relationship with a Christian. Unlike the other friends of Rodrigo, he appears to function on his own, as an independent lord and ally, rather than a vassal like Minaya. In terms of the criterion of equality in medieval friendship, he fulfils this better. The close relationship between Rodrigo and his warband is central to the story. Michael Harney has emphasised the importance of the warband in *Cantar el Mio Cid*, a view in which the role of Abengalbón would be marginalized since he was an external friend.[712] However, Althoff has argued that this emphasis on the kin-groups has been exaggerated by historians. This is, in part, because even relationships which were not based on blood-ties were still framed in terms

[709] *Poem of the Cid*, Cantar 3 pp.161-163.
[710] *Poem of the Cid*, Cantar 2, p.99 and 103.
[711] *Poem of the Cid*, Cantar 2, pp.102-103: 'dont a ojo [*lo*] ha, sonrrisándose de la boca ívalo abraçar, en el ombro lo Saluda ca tal es su usaje'.
[712] Harney, *Kinship and Polity in the* Poema de Mio Cid, pp.28 and 66.

of the family.[713] The relationship between Abengalbón and Rodrigo, fictional or not, may be more important than others have previously argued. That Rodrigo sends Minaya to Abengalbón, assuming that he will give them help and hospitality, shows that they had a bond of friendship or co-operation which matched the one between Rodrigo and his vassals. That both Minaya and Abengalbón respected this shows that the friendship, framed in terms of kinship, meant that they could treat each other as belonging to the same kin-group.

Abengalbón does not seem like a weak and too generous character. He is more independent than the Christian members of Rodrigo's warband, since he appears as a Saracen counterpart of Rodrigo. But he might also be seen as an Other because he was a Saracen. The weakness among friendly Saracens that Mirrer identifies is absent, and was perhaps more applicable to those depicted in William of Tyre's writings. The Fatimids, who are occasional allies, are clearly shown as more effeminate than the Turks, and when Turks are friendly this has to be explained in some way. This appears less clear in the Iberian material, meaning that in terms of the chronicles Mirrer's thesis might be more applicable to the situation in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. It is undeniable that the Iberian romances contained the potential for friendship across religious barriers which served as a great contrast to the martial violence, but this did not mean that the Saracens, who were open to friendship, were depicted as weaker than those who were not, especially with male friendship playing such an important role in medieval culture.[714] In the crusader context of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the Saracens were the constant enemy, and an honourable one at that, which meant that it was difficult to reconcile the idea of the Saracen with that of

[713] Althoff, *Family, Friends and Followers*, pp.160-161.
[714] Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens*', pp.245-246; MacKay 'Religion, Culture, and Ideology', pp.225 and 228; Ailes, 'Medieval Male Couple', pp.214-215.

friendship. Allies were either portrayed as weak or were 'converted' into Christians to justify this. When fighting alongside the Latins the Fatimids were either effeminised, or ignored in favour of Christian knights, as in the case of Kamil and Mahadan, the Fatimid princes who were portrayed as overshadowed by the Latin knights in William of Tyre's chronicle. This does not appear to be the case in the Iberian sources.

Conversion as the Ultimate Sign of Friendship?

If there was doubt over how to represent friendly Saracens, what then happened if they converted to Christianity? Conversion was often depicted as a goal for the Latins, as it was considered to be another sign of victory over Islam, although moral and spiritual rather than military. Conversion has even been seen as either a masculinising or de-masculinising process, with baptism having the ability to change the body as well as the soul.[715] During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there was an increase in polemical writers hoping to convert the Saracens, although many of those seeking to convert through military victory changed towards hoping to convert through intermarriage after the 1187 loss of Jerusalem, but this hope also declined in the late-thirteenth century.[716] The emphasis on conversion included Jews but, because of their roles within the Latin world, there was less emphasis on military victory and intermarriage. Instead, the aim was seen as more achievable through polemical writing and debate. The Jews were not seen as a military threat, instead they were often effeminised, while polemical writing between Christians and Muslims was often

[715] Kruger, 'Conversion and Medieval Sexual, Religious, and Racial Categories', p.172 Kruger, 'Becoming Christian, Becoming Male?', p.28; Cohen, 'On Saracen Enjoyment', p.121; Akbari, *Idols in the East*, pp.168-169.
[716] Tolan, *Saracens*, pp.212-213; Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, p.145.

focused on hypermasculinity.[717] Despite conversion becoming a more popular topic in polemical and romance writing, it simultaneously became more difficult for converts, from both Judaism and Islam, to be accepted in Latin society, linked to growing societal intolerance.[718] It has been shown that even if there was official support for conversion, converts, especially male ones, were often viewed with suspicion and access to public office could be limited.[719] While Saracen women converting for love was a very popular literary trope, it was less common for Saracen men in literature. When it occurred, it either happened after military defeat, which was generally seen as legitimate, or as a part of a pacifying process, like in the English fourteenth-century romance *The King of Tars*.[720] The notion of military failure as the reason for conversion, essentially failing in their military role and being proven subordinate to the Christian knights indicates that here conversion was de-masculinising.

Steven F. Kruger used the depiction of Jews in relation to their gender and sexuality to argue that conversion was not only a change in status but a potential process of masculinisation, and that this was the case not only for Jews, but also for Saracens. He based this on some similarities between the two faiths, in that they were feminised because they emphasised the corporeal rather than the spiritual. Since circumcision was not a Latin practice it became linked with de-virilisation, culturally almost equated with castration. Kruger also noted that conversion could be equally masculinising and feminising

[717] Cuffel, *Gendering Disgust*, pp.90-91 and 119.
[718] Jonathan M. Elukin, 'The Discovery of the Self: Jews and Conversion in the Twelfth Century', in *Jews and Christians in Twelfth-Century Europe*, eds. Michael A. Singer and John van Engen (Notre Dame, 2001), p.72; Ailes, 'Tolerated Otherness', pp.3-6.
[719] Kruger, 'Conversion and Medieval Sexual, Religious, and Racial Categories', pp.171-172; Sharon Kinoshita, '"Pagans are Wrong and Christians are Right": Alterity, Gender and Nation in the *Chanson de Roland*', in *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 31:1 (2001), p.85; Akbari, *Idols in the East*, pp.166-167.
[720] Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens*, p.211; De Weever, *Sheba's Daughters*, pp.xiv-xvii; Akbari, *Idols in the East*, pp.165-166.

for Saracens.[721] Conversion was viewed as not only a spiritual change, but also a physical change, one which is made especially clear in the romances. White Saracens were more likely to convert than black Saracens, as in *Chanson de Roland*, and romances show the black Saracen becoming white through conversion, as in *The King of Tars*, where the pagan king Damas turned white through baptism.[722] Saracens were considered as potentially more equal to Latin Christians than Jews, which made their bodies more open to conversion than Jews. But the female body was also considered more open to conversion than the male through marriage, since men in romances were less likely to convert through marriage, again raising the issue of conversion as potentially de-masculinising.[723] Also, while there was a lot of talk about converting Jews and Saracens, in reality, there was more emphasis on conversion in the Baltic crusades than those in Outremer, since the Balts were considered far more savage and wild, not chivalrous foes like the Saracens.[724]

Despite its popularity in polemic and romances, there seems to have been very few actual attempts to convert Saracens. None of the versions of Urban II's sermon at Clermont in 1095 mention the conversion of the Saracens. Even though there was forced conversion of Western European Jews following Urban's call to arms, there was never any larger effort to convert Jews or Christians in the Kingdom of Jerusalem.[725] Despite this, people did convert, but while the romances only focused on aristocratic people, the actual converts

[721] Kruger, 'Becoming Christian, Becoming Male?', p.28.
[722] Metlitzki, *Matter of Araby in Medieval England*, p.138; Cohen, 'On Saracen Enjoyment', p.121; Akbari, *Idols in the East*, pp.165-166; Hahn, 'The Difference the Middle Ages Make', p.15.
[723] Akbari, *Idols in the East*, p.4.
[724] Alan Forey, 'The military orders and the conversion of Muslims in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', in *Journal of Medieval History*, 28:1 (2002), pp.17-18.
[725] Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, p.58; Jeremy Cohen, 'A 1096 Complex? Constructing the First Crusade in Jewish Historical Memory, Medieval and Modern', in *Jews and Christians in Twelfth-Century Europe*, eds. Michael A. Singer and John van Engen (Notre Dame, 2001), p.10; Heng, *Empire of Magic*, pp.82-83; Throop, 'Combat and Conversion', p.311.

were perhaps lowborn people who are difficult to identify in the sources.[726] Also, despite the bans on intermarriage, there were certainly thoughts within the aristocracy to marry Saracens, showing their equality in terms of status, even if in reality it was uncommon. The marriage suggested by Richard I between his sister, the widowed Joan of Plantagenet (d.1199), and Saladin's brother al-Adil (d.1218) is one example of this, even if it never actually happened.[727]

Unlike in the Holy Land, Urban II actually promoted conversion of the Saracens in Iberia. But on the whole there was very little effort to do so, despite people converting from Islam to Christianity, *baptizati*, and from Christianity to Islam, at least outside of the aristocracy.[728] There was a slight increase in converts to Christianity in the thirteenth century, predominantly among slaves since they believed that it would lead to manumission, although the latter rarely happened.[729] Conversion of Saracens in the Iberian Peninsula did not really become an issue until later in the Middle Ages. There was an increasing group of Saracens called *Mudejars* living in Christian lands, generally due to Christian expansion. Their situation was complex since they were at once seen as an extension of the external enemy while also being neighbours and friends, and, as long as they did not rebel, no real effort was made to convert them until the late fifteenth century.[730] In 1502 they were, like the Jews, told to convert or be expelled. At the same

[726] Hadia Dajani-Shakeel, 'Natives and Frank in Palestine: Perceptions and Interaction', *Conversion and Continuity: Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries*, eds. Michael Gervers and Ramzi Jibran Bikhazi (Ontario, 1990), p.175; Bennett, 'First Crusaders' Images of Muslims', pp.105-106.
[727] Hill, 'Christian view of the Muslims', p.3; Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin*, pp.342-343
[728] Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, pp.46-47; MacKay, 'Religion, Culture, and Ideology on the Late Medieval Castilian-Granadan Frontier', p.221.
[729] Bensch, 'From Prizes of War to Domestic Merchandise', p.83.
[730] Joseph F. O'Callaghan, 'The Mudejars of Castile and Portugal in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', in *Muslims under Latin Rule, 1100-1300*, ed. James M. Powell (Princeton, 1990), pp.55-56; Meyerson, 'Slavery and Solidarity', p.304.

time, their records were burned.[731] But earlier, the sources so far have shown there was a great deal of tolerance towards Saracens in Iberia, despite tensions showing themselves in fear of conversion and intermarriage.

Despite all the modern scholarly attention to conversion and intermarriage, the reality was different and part of this relates to the status of the Saracens as the main external enemies. Sharon Kinoshita has suggested that there was simply a lack of interest because the Saracens needed to remain enemies, a typical case of Othering, in order for the Latins to maintain their role.[732] Also, there was a growing suspicion of converts in this period, in particular crypto-Saracens, those who had been baptised but secretly continued to practise Islam and live as Muslims (see Chapter Six). But the general issue of conversion in the Central Middle Ages makes the examples that do emerge in these chronicles important. With the growing concern over converts, it is unsurprising that one of the key texts here with examples of conversion is also one of the earliest, *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii*.

There was some conversion in Southern Italy following the Norman invasions but it gained more momentum in the twelfth century, which might not be too surprising considering that Islamic communities came under increasing pressure after the death of Roger II.[733] While most of the people converting were lowborn, there are examples of aristocrats converting to Christianity. One was Elias Cartomensis who had joined the Normans during their invasion. While his name is Christian, the text also makes his baptism explicit: 'Elias was a convert from the Saracens to the Christian faith, and was afterwards brutally slain by his own people at Castrogiovanni. Since he refused to deny that faith and

[731] Hitchcock, *Muslim Spain Reconsidered*, pp.191-192.
[732] Kinoshita, 'Pagans are Wrong and Christians are Right' p.89.
[733] Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, pp.49-52.

become an apostate, he thus ended his life most admirably as a martyr.'[734] Elias had set out to fight the traitors of Catania alongside a Norman, Robert de Sourteville, and it is unclear when and where his death actually took place.[735] This is probably also the same Elias described as scouting ahead along with three Latin nobles earlier in the text.[736] This is an early example of conversion from Islam to Christianity, which stands out since conversions might not be expected until the Normans were in a stronger position. No oath is mentioned in this context but, since Elias was working with the Normans, some kind of oath must have been taken. The question is whether the fact that Elias was a convert influenced him to remain loyal. In order to answer this another example of conversion from the same source needs to be mentioned.

The other noble Saracen convert in *De Rebus Gestis* is Chamut, who fought Count Roger I at Castrogiovanni, and converted after his wife had been imprisoned by Roger.[737] After this, he stayed among the Christians since he was afraid of being punished by the Saracens for apostasy. Instead he moved to the mainland where: 'during the course of a long lifetime, he showed irreproachable conduct, free from any treachery towards our people.'[738] This means that, although Chamut had converted under pressure and remained among the Christians because he feared retribution from Saracens, he was considered a genuinely good ally after his conversion. Since the stories are unusual Alex Metcalfe has suggested that the reason why these two conversions from Islam were noted by Malaterra

[734] Malaterra, *Deeds of Count*, III.30 pp.91-92; Malaterra, *De Rebus Gestis*, III.30 p.75: 'qui ex Saracenis ad fidem Christi conversus, postea apud Castrum Johannis a sua gente hostiliter interfectus, quia negando apostate fieri noluit, martyrio vitam laudabiliter finivit'.
[735] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger*, III.30 pp.91-92.
[736] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger*, III.18 p.79.
[737] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger*, IV.5-6 pp.107-109.
[738] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger*, IV.6 p.109; Malaterra, *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii*, IV.6 p.88: 'Sicque postea, longo tempore vivens, ab omni fraude versus nostrum gentem sese irreprehensibilem deinceps exhibuit'.

was because they were so uncommon in reality.[739] Both these examples have converts from Islam represented as loyal to the Normans, so the question becomes: was it conversion that made these Saracen converts loyal compared to non-Saracens? And what impact did this have on their masculinity? To answer this a couple of examples of non-converted Saracen allies needs to be brought in.

Benthumen, not to be confused with Betumen (Ibn al-Thumna), was left in charge of Catania while Robert Guiscard was away fighting in the Balkans in 1080, leaving Roger in charge of the Norman holdings in Apulia and Calabria. Although at first remaining loyal, when approached by the Amir of Syracuse and Noto, Benarvert (Ibn al-Ward), Benthumen was persuaded by him to defect because 'this prince of Syracuse and Noto was a cunning man, experienced in military matters, brave and crafty, saying one thing but keeping his plans to himself and doing another, and all the Saracens who were still putting up a fight in Sicily relied on his leadership.'[740] Benthumen let the Saracens into the city, betraying his oath to Count Roger. Catania did, however, not remain in Saracen hands for long as the Normans quickly recaptured it. Both Benarvert and Benthumen escaped to Syracuse. After their escape Benthumen demanded his reward from Benarvert for betraying his oaths at Catania. He received nothing, and instead Benarvert had him decapitated out of fear that he would betray him as he had betrayed the Normans.[741] Being an oath breaker was clearly viewed negatively among both Saracens and Christians.

[739] Metcalfe, *Muslims of Medieval Italy*, p.102.
[740] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger,* III.30 p.91; Malaterra, *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii*, III.30 p.75: 'Erat enim callidissimus et militari exercitio deditus, audax, subdolus aliud lingus proferens, aliud pectore occultando gerens: Syracusi et Noti princeps, cuius consilio omnes Saraceni, qui adhuc in Sicilia rebelles errant, innitebantur.'
[741] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger*, III.30 p.92.

The other, and perhaps more obvious, example of a Saracen who was an ally without converting was Ibn al-Thumna himself. He was the one who invited Roger I to Sicily in the first place, before Roger decided that this would be his great conquest. Ibn al-Thumna was described as a close ally from the very beginning, and remained as such after Roger decided to take control.[742] He was described as 'their faithful lieutenant and guide',[743] and left in charge in Catania earlier during Roger's campaign but, unlike Benthumen, he remained loyal (*fidelitas*).[744] He was also the rightful ruler of Syracuse, since he had been in charge there before being driven away by Ibn Hawwas and, once reconquered, the city was returned to him, so that Roger could return to the mainland with a strong Sicilian, Saracen, ally defending his conquests.[745] Ibn al-Thumna finally ended his days trying to gather allies for Roger, when he was betrayed by one of his old Saracen knights, Nichel. To his end he remained loyal to Roger.[746] The Normans of Troina and Petralia retreated to Messina after his death, partly because they had relied on his protection, but also because they were 'mightily upset'[747] by his death.

As already seen, being a Christian did not excuse the treacherous nature of the Calabrians and Greeks. However, for a Saracen to convert was at least one sign of loyalty, even when conversion happened under pressure. Perhaps what we can learn from this is that although conversion was not a prerequisite for being honourable, it certainly made it more likely. Unconverted Saracens could still remain loyal, but had less of an incentive. Did conversion make a person more of a man though? Elias certainly does not appear to have

[742] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger*, II.3-4 p.3 and II.20 pp.35-36.
[743] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger*, II.16 p.34; Malaterra, *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii*, II.16 p.34: 'illis fidus comes et ductor'.
[744] Malaterra, *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii*, II.18 p.35.
[745] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger*, *The Deeds of Count Roger*, II.18 p.35.
[746] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger*, II.22 pp.36-37.
[747] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger*, II.22 p.37; Malaterra, *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii*, II.22 p.36: 'maxime turbati'.

been any more or less masculine because of his converted state, but the situation with Chamut is slightly different. After his conversion he might have remained loyal but he kept his distance from other Saracens, indicating a lack of courage, despite his ongoing loyalty. Since there are only two examples of conversion in the text, and they present opposing stories, it is unclear what Malaterra actually believed regarding conversion and masculinity, if he had any opinions at all. In fact, the person who maintains his military masculinity the most here is Ibn al-Thumna. He seems to play a role similar to that of Sayf al-Dawla or al-Musta'in in Zaragoza. In these sources, there seems to be no equation between masculinisation and conversion. One mark of the identity of a converted Saracen would be that they had a Christian name, taken at their baptism. This is seen with Elias, since we are introduced to him after conversion, but not Chamut, since he performed his role before conversion. This is why converts can be difficult to find in the sources. Most Saracens have Arabic names that are transcribed as the Latinate author understood them, but the converts had actual Christian names.[748] While it was not a change in skin colour, like in the romances, it was clearly a real change of status and, again, something that rarely happened. Not all Christians had Latin names, which complicates the identifications of the religious identity of people further, but Armenians and Greeks can often be identified as such based on their names.

What does this mean for the representations of Saracen male converts to Christianity? First, there has been a lot of correlation between the depictions of Jews and Muslims, since they were the main non-Christian groups encountered by medieval Latin Christendom. Jews and Muslims were monotheists, and filled a similar theological role. There does, however, appear to be difference. Previous studies have pointed out the

[748] Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians in Norman Sicily*, pp.127-140.

benefits of conversion, generally aimed at Jews, but it appears to have been more problematic for Saracens to convert. The fact that there are so few Saracen converts in these sources, other than false converts, supports the notion that it was uncommon, but also not something that the writers cared about. Perhaps the fact that Jewish men were more often portrayed as the internal, degenerate enemy, and the Saracen the external, often more fully masculine convert, meant that there was less for him to gain in terms of masculinity from conversion. While there was some racial stereotyping against groups such as the Fatimids, other like the Turks, Arabs and Amazigh groups did not need a change in religion to re-establish their masculinity, even if it would make them more morally complete. In fact, it might even make them weaker to convert, since they showed themselves as less steadfast. The chronicles appear to be ambiguous toward Saracen converts, but the lack of conversion beyond the early accounts does speak for the disinterest in converts and, as will be seen in the next chapter, a growing sense of distrust.

Conclusion

There does seem to have been a clear difference in the portrayal of intercultural male friendships depending on the geo-political and cultural context. Where there was less constant contact, where the crusading movement was dominant, and where the Saracens were meant to only figure as the ideal enemy, there seem to have been more problems with accepting Saracen friendship. William of Tyre provides more detail and becomes more factual than judgemental when dealing with Saracen enemies than with friends. The group that was most likely to be allies, the Fatimids, were also more likely to be feminised. This does, however, not appear to be the case in the Iberian Peninsula and, at least in the late

eleventh and early twelfth centuries, in Norman Sicily. Saracen and Christian men could be allies since they were both following the same model of martial masculinity, but there was certainly a risk of de-masculinisation for Saracen men in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Despite conversion being an extremely popular topic in polemic and romance, this did not occur as much in the chronicles, perhaps mirroring the fact that there were, in reality, few converts among the aristocracy. The other literary genres express wishes and goals, rather than reality. This was, of course, to a large extent also true for chronicles. However, where romances relied on tropes to create an imagined world, in chronicles the foundation was historical reality where lines between myth and reality blurred, showing an idealised reality.

Chapter 6. Saracens as Servants: Eunuchs in the Latin world

Introduction

Most of the male Saracens described in the sources fit well with the model of military masculinity, with a few exceptions, one being the eunuchs. They are especially informative for the study of masculinity because not only was their status questioned in terms of gender but also, since they could exist both as slaves and people of power, their social status was highly fluid. In the Sicilian chronicles their religion was also often called into question. While eunuchs could be military commanders, as was the case with the earlier famous commander Narses (d.573), this was rare.[749] At least in sources from the Central Middle Ages, their abilities lay in command rather than physical prowess, two attributes that the ideal martial man should be able to combine. Eunuchs were not described as fighters but they were gendered male, although lacking in their masculinity. They were in a liminal position, with their social role as men questioned by the sources, especially their lack of physical courage. This was furthered by the fact that most were converts from Islam, although their dedication to Christianity was questioned. With this in mind, this chapter will discuss how Saracen eunuchs fit into, not only the Latin views of castration, but also the narrative about Saracens. Their role in these sources was not only as eunuchs but as crypto-Saracens, those who had falsely converted. Most of the relevant examples are from *Liber de Regno Sicilie* by Hugo Falcandus which, to a large degree, focuses on eunuchs in power. The eunuchs had an important role at the court of Roger II, with ongoing but

[749] John Moorhead, *Justinian* (London, 1994), pp.30 and 107-109

declining administrative roles up to and after his death.[750] Falcandus' chronicle is about the leadership of the Kingdom of Sicily and he singled out the role of the eunuchs. However, he was not the only one to make them scapegoats. First, one of the most important cases of such scapegoating, Philip of Mahdiyya, will be discussed. Second, in order to understand the view on eunuchs in these texts, general views on castration in the Latin world will be considered. Third, the connections between eunuchs and the idea of foreign lands will be examined. Since eunuchs were not a part of Latin society, their role in foreign lands and how this was represented in the Latin West is important. Finally the eunuchs of Sicily will be discussed more broadly. This will include their relation to the idea of crypto-Saracenism, since it placed the courtly eunuchs in a position of ultimate liminality. They were represented as members of Latin society, yet still even more Other than outside Saracens.

Philip of Mahdiyya

Something which has already been well-established in this thesis is that King Roger II of Sicily had problems with criticism, not only by rival rulers, but from his own Latin barons. Just as he was able to use his Greek and Saracen administrators against his Latin followers, their employment was something for which he could be criticised. As Roger II was aging and losing some of his power, this became evident, notably with the execution of Philip of Mahdiyya. Philip was a eunuch who had shown himself to be an efficient administrator and military commander under Roger II. He led the victory at Buna (in what is now Algeria) in 1153 and was also personally close to Roger II, who appointed him Master Chamberlain of

[750] Metcalfe, *Muslims of Medieval Italy*, pp.167-168.

the Royal Palace (*magister camerarius palatii*), a position that gave him the highest status in the palace other than the king.[751] Philip was one of the key eunuchs under Roger II, but it was really after the death of George of Antioch in 1151 when he came into his own. His power grew quickly, and reached its peak at the victory at Buna.[752] That he was the commander at Buna is confirmed by the Arabic chronicler Ibn al-Athīr.[753] But this victory had been followed with criticism, since he was accused of treating the defeated Saracens too well and this was seen by some, including Ibn al-Athīr, as the real reason why he was executed.[754] This indicates that not even his contemporaries believed that Roger II would execute someone simply for being a false Christian. Philip might have been lenient towards the Saracens captured at Buna, but not because he was a Saracen, but rather for pragmatic reasons. There were logical reasons for this well-established Sicilian policy of lenience, such as wanting the population to remain compliant in order for Buna to become a Norman centre in Ifriqiya, so this does not explain Philip's fate. [755] Joshua C. Birk has recently framed the execution as a murder mystery, not because who killed him is unknown, but because the real reason for it is. Like Evelyn Jamison and Alex Metcalfe before him, Birk concludes that the real reason was the internal power struggle at the court, at a time when the power of Roger II along with that of the eunuchs was declining, and it set the tone for later political purges.[756] This is the most likely reason for his death but what is of interest here is how his crime, trial, and execution was portrayed. There are many layers to this: the true

[751] *Romualdi Salernitani Chronicon*, p.254.
[752] Takayama, *Administration of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily*, p.91.
[753] Ibn al-Athīr, *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from* al-Kāmil fī'l-ta'rīkh*. Part 2: the years 541/589/1146-1193: the Age of Nur al Din and Saladin*, ed. and trans. D.S. Richards (Aldershot, 2007), p.63.
[754] Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr. Part 2*, 187 pp.63-64; Houben, *Roger II of Sicily*, p.112; Metcalfe, *Muslims of Medieval Italy*, pp.167-168.
[755] Metcalfe, *Muslims of Medieval Italy*, p.166; Birk, *Norman Kings of Sicily*, pp.143-145.
[756] Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius of Sicily*, pp.39-44; Metcalfe, *Muslims of Medieval Italy*, pp.168-169; Birk, *Norman Kings of Sicily*, pp.160-163.

reason, the reasons given, and those highlighted in the narratives, together with the rumours that also are represented in the sources.

While Philip clearly had a successful career at the court, following in the footsteps of George of Antioch, and the marginalia which was inserted into in the chronicle by Romuald of Salerno claims that Philip did not answer his rewards with equal loyalty, and turned his back on Christianity:

> But since he showed himself ungrateful to his creator for the benefits he had received, and returned evil for good toward the Celestial King, he rightly incurred the anger and indignation of the temporal monarch. For under the cloak of the Christian name he served as a soldier of the devil, and while pretending to behave as a Christian he was both by conviction and behaviour completely Saracen. He hated Christians and greatly loved pagans. He entered Christian churches unwillingly, but more frequently visited the synagogues of the evil doers and provided them with oil to fuel their lights and other things which they needed. He totally rejected Christian tradition; he continued to eat meat of Fridays and Lent, he sent envoys with gifts to the tomb of Mahommed and commended himself to the prayers of the priests of that place.[757]

That he was officially a Christian but secretly a Muslim is also suggested by Ibn al-Athīr, but neither source can be trusted in this. It is possible that Philip was still following Islamic practices but there is no real evidence either way. One source was trying to create a Muslim martyr, while the other was focused on his apostasy. It should also be noted that the source claims that Philip loved *pagani*. This is a surprising place in which the term appears, perhaps showing the chronicler interpreting the term as meaning non-Christian,

[757] Romuald of Salerno, 'Chronicon Sive Annales, 1125-54', in *Roger II and the Creation of the Kingdom of Sicily*, ed. and trans. Graham A. Loud (Manchester, 2012), p.266; *Romualdi Salernitani Chronicon*, pp.234-235: 'Sed quia conditori suo de collatis benediciis ingratus extitit, et regi celesti malum bono rependit, merito terreni regis iram et indigntionem incurrit. Hic enim sub clamide christiani nominis diaboli militem gerebat absconditum, et cum specie tenus se esse christianum ostenderet, totus erat mente et opera Sarracenus; christianos oderat, paganos plurimum diligebat, Dei ecclesias inuitus intrabat, sinagogas malignantium uisitabat frequentius, et eis oleum ad concinnanda luminaria et qua errant necessaria ministrabat. Christianas traditions penitus respuens, in diebus Ueneris et quadragisime carnes comedere non cessabat; nuntios suos cum oblationibus ad sepulcrum Magumeth miserat, et se sacerdotum loci illius orationibus plurimum commendauerat.'

rather than polytheistic idolater. The implication of the term pagan has already been discussed, and this is another example of it being used as a universal term for non-Christians. The link with ideas of Roman polytheism and idolatry, rather than Islam, is emphasised in that the writer portrays this Tomb of Mahommed (*sepulchrum Magumeth*) as an idolatrous shrine. Whether this was included to link this apostasy into the trope of enemy pagans, or if the writer, despite living in Southern Italy, knew so little about Islam that he actually believed this is unclear. What is undeniable is that the inclusion increased the Otherness of Philip.

The source says that Philip admitted his crimes and promised to act as a good Christian from that point onwards. Roger did not, however, respond favourably to this:

> Then the king was lit up by the flame of the faith. He burst into tears and said: 'My faithful subjects, you should know that my heart is filled by deep grief, and racked by anger, in that this servant [*minister*] of mine, whom I raised from boyhood as catholic, has because of his sins been revealed as a Saracen, and as a Saracen has sheltered under the name of our faith while he practiced the works of the infidel. If he had indeed offended our Majesty in other matters, if he had stolen part, even a large part, of our treasure, then in memory of his past services he would have merited and obtained grace and pardon. But since by what he has done he has chiefly offended God, and has given to other material and example for sin, I could not pardon either my own son or one of my closer relations for such injury to our faith and offence to the Christian religion. In this verdict the whole world will come to realise that I am consumed by love for the Christian faith and I will not hesitate to punish even my servants for injuries to it. Let the laws therefore rise up, our government arm itself with the sword of equity and let them cut down the enemy of the faith with the sword of justice, and through this the unbelievers shall be struck by terror.'[758]

[758] Romuald of Salerno, 'Chronicon Sive Annales' (2012), pp.266-267; *Romualdi Salernitani Chronicon*, p.235: 'Tunc rex fidei flamma succensus, prorumpens in lacrimas, ait: "Noscat uestra fidelitas, dilectissimi, quod animus meus maximo dolore compungitur, et magnis iracundie stimulis agitator, quia hic minister meus quem a puero enutrieram ut catholicum, peccatis suis exigentibus, inuentus est Sarracenum, et Sarracenus et sub nomine fidei opera infidelitatis exercuit. Et quidem si maiestatem nostrum in rebus aliis offendisset: si thesauri nostril partem licet maxima exportasset, serucii sui recolenda memoria pro certo apud nos promeretur ueniam, et gratiam impetrasset. Set quia in facto suo principaliter offendit Deum, et aliis peccandi materiam prebuit et exemplum, nostre fidei iniuiram et Christiane religionis offensam proprio filio non remitterem nec cuilibet proximo relaxarem. In hoc facto totus mundus addiscat, quod christianam fidem tota affectione diligo et eius iniuriam etiam in ministros meos uindicare no cesso. Exurgant igitur leges, et nostra

Significant here are Roger's personal feelings. As already mentioned, Philip was the Master of the Royal Household, so he clearly not only had a strong political connection to Roger, but also a personal one. The fact that he was 'raised from boyhood as catholic' (*hic minister meus quem a puero enutrieram ut catholicum*), also shows that he had been at the court from a young age, raised as a Christian. The source hints that he was taken as a slave in North Africa, which also tells that his origin was not that of a free nobleman, but an educated slave. His secret ongoing Muslim faith also fits in the narrative, displaying him as ungrateful for not only the material rewards of the court, but also spiritual salvation.

It is not only his close relationship with Roger II that makes him stand out. There is something else that makes him unique: the severity of the punishment that he received at the hands of Roger himself:

> 'We have decreed that Philip, who has brought the Christian name into disrepute and under a pretence of the faith has led the life of the infidel shall be burned by the avenging flames. He who has been unwilling to receive the fire of charity shall incur the [actual] fire of burning. Let no relics of this most wicked man remain, but be turned into ashes by temporal fire while he goes to be burned for ever by the eternal fire.' Then, on the orders of the justiciars, his feet were bound to a wild horse and he was violently dragged to a lime pit which was in front of the palace; his feet were freed from the horse and he was thrown into the middle of the flames and immediately burned. All those who were accomplices and sharers in his iniquity were also given death sentences.[759]

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iura ense equitatis armentur, et inimicum fidei iusticie gladio feriant, et per hoc infidelibus laqueum terroris inducant.'

[759] Romuald of Salerno, 'Chronicon Sive Annales' (2012), p.268; *Romualdi Salernitani Chronicon*, p.236: '"Philippum, christiani nominis delusorum et sub uelamento fidei opera infiderlitatis agentem, flammis ulticibus decreuimus concremandum, ut qui ignem caritatis habere noluit, ignem combustionis incurrat, et nequissimi hominis relique nulle remaneant, sed conuersus in cienres ab igne temporali ad ignem eternum perpetuo arsurus accedat." Tunc mandantibus iusticiariis, equi indomiti pedibus alligatus usque ad calcariam, que ante palatium erat, est uiolenter attractus, dehinc ab equi pedibus dissolutus in flammarum medio iactatus est et repente combustus. Alii autem sue iniquiiatis copmlices et consortes capitalem subiere sententiam.'

Philip was executed by burning, so not only killed but removed from this world and purified. Before that he had been humiliated, by being dragged by a horse, so he had been destroyed in both body, soul, and reputation. He was not the only one executed, but also his supposed accomplices, reinforcing the idea of a political purge at the Sicilian court. Metcalfe has pointed out that even if he had been accused of a crime which was considered a capital offense based on the kingdom's legal traditions, the a*ssizes*, he could have been pardoned but, since apostates lost all their legal protection, that became impossible.[760]

The account finished in the following way: 'It was thus most clearly revealed by this affair that King Roger was a most Christian and catholic prince, who to punish an injury to the faith, did not spare his own chamberlain whom he had brought up, but handed him over to the flames for its honour and glory.'[761] The religious nature of the execution is brought forward at the end of the account. Since there are no indications that Roger II became more religious in his later life, but the idea of the growing faith in the ageing king was a trope, it clearly appears here as part of the representation of the events, staged as a just king ending the life of a treacherous pagan. In reality, it is the increasingly weak Roger who was probably forced to execute someone close to him in order to appeal to the conflicting factions of the court, in search of a degree of stability. In the face of increased pressure by the Latin nobility, which Roger was becoming more powerless to withstand, growing fear of heresy as part of the growing intolerance in the twelfth centuy, and the

[760] Metcalfe, *Muslims of Medieval Italy*, p.179, n. 17.
[761] Romuald of Salerno, 'Chronicon Sive Annales', p.268, *Romualdi Salernitani Chronicon*, p.236: 'In hoc igitur facto manifestius elucescit, quod rex Rogerius fuit princeps christianissimus et catholicus, qui pro iniuria fidei uindicanda camerario et nutrito proprio non pepercit, set pro eius honore et Gloria incendio tradidit illum.'

growing opposition to urban Muslim communities in the Kingdom of Sicily, Philip became a very public victim.[762] Eunuchs were probably easy targets, and as will be seen, they were often the scapegoats of any political issue.[763] In order to understand why they were in this position, the role and view of the eunuch in the Latin world must be examined.

While the event itself took place during the reign of Roger II, the account might be later, and is from the *Chronicon Sive Annales* by Romuald of Salerno. The narrative is presented in the margin of the Latin text, so possibly an addition by another writer.[764] The veracity of its facts can, however, be corroborated by Ibn al-Athīr's Arabic account.[765] Léon-Robert Ménager and Hubert Houben have theorised that, based on the use of the term *amiratus stolii*, the passage concerning Philip was written between 1177 and the early thirteenth century when this title was in official use.[766] Jeremy Johns agrees that it was added to the source shortly after 1177, but also argues for its validity since it is so similar to the Arabic material, indicating that the original would have been within one generation of the events.[767] Johns also believes that the Arabic accounts of the events were based on the observations of the Zirid prince, Ibn Shaddad, who visited the Kingdom of Sicily in 1156-57.[768] Despite the later date of the Latin marginalia it is still representative for the representations of eunuchs in the Norman Kingdom of Sicily, although later than the reign of Roger II.

[762] Metcalfe, *Muslims of Medieval Italy*, pp.168-169.
[763] Birk, *Norman Kings of Sicily*, pp.160-161.
[764] Metcalfe, *Muslims of Medieval Italy*, p.167; Houben, *Roger II of Sicily*, p.111.
[765] Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr. Part 2*, 187 pp.63-64.
[766] Léon-Robert Ménager, *Amiratus : l'Émirat et les origines de l'Amirauté XIe-XIIIe siècles* (Paris, 1960), pp.66-67; Houben, *Roger II of Sicily*, p.111
[767] Johns, *Arabic Administration in Norman Sicily*, p.218.
[768] Johns, *Arabic Administration in Norman Sicily*, p.217.

Castration in the Latin World and Beyond

The Eunuch has always been a 'other' figure in Western Europe and was never a central part of Latin court life. In both the Greek and Islamic worlds, they were widely used as administrators, educators, and servants of the aristocratic classes, but there was no such institution at the courts of France, England or the Holy Roman Empire. The difference was not simply in the lack of use of eunuchs. There were overall different views on castration and its role in society and religion. Theological views on castrations in the Latin world often focused on the Church Father Origen (d.254).[769] Origen was an Alexandrian theologian who produced several important works but, in struggling with his chastity, he castrated himself, probably based on his reading of Matthew 19:12, which can be interpreted as supporting castration for spiritual reasons.[770] Fighting with lustful feelings is a common theme in the writings of the Church Fathers, but most, especially Jerome and John of Cassian, believed that the daily struggle was more appropriate than Origen's more extreme action.[771] While self-mutilation was banned at the Council of Nicaea, eunuchs remained in the Byzantine world, with both eunuch saints and clerics, and in the twelfth century there were even

[769] Jacqueline Murray, 'Mystical Castration: Some Reflections on Peter Abelard, Hugh of Lincoln and Sexual Control', in *Conflicted Identities and Multiple Masculinites: Men in the Medieval West*, ed. Jacqueline Murray (London, 1999), pp.161-163.
[770] Shaun Tougher, *The Eunuch in Byzantine History and Society* (Abingdon, 2008), p.10.
[771] John of Cassian, *Cassianus, vol XVII: De Institutis Coenobiorum, De Incarnatione Contra Nestorium*, ed. Michael Petschenig (Vienna, 2004), I:11 pp.15-16 and V:21 pp.98-99; Mathew Kuefler, *The Manly Eunuch: Masculinity, Gender Ambiguity, and Christian Ideology in Late Antiquity* (Chicago, 2001), pp.280-281.

writings promoting eunuchs as better priests.[772] This was, however, not necessarily the majority view in Byzantium and views on eunuchs remained complex.[773]

In the Latin world the act of castration itself was not unheard of but it was mainly used as punishment rather than to create a separate category of people, as eunuchs to a large degree were. Eunuchs who were castrated before entering puberty had a very different physiological development. The lack of hormones resulted in a lack of hair on both head and body, development of elongated limbs, pale skin and generally a higher degree of body fat, with greater deposits in the chest and buttock area.[774] This gave them a more feminised appearance prompting comments describing them as such.[775] Also, and perhaps most famously, since they did not go through puberty their voices did not break and remained high. This aspect is what made eunuchs sought after in Western Europe, although not until the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when restrictions on public performances by female singers made castrato singers popular at the courts.[776] The vast majority of medieval eunuchs were castrated before puberty and the most common method was to have only the testicles removed, either by orchiectomy or crushing, although penectomy did also occasionally occur.[777] Since they retained only part of their

[772] Murray, 'Mystical Castration', p.74; George Sidéris, 'Eunuchs of Light': Power, Imperial Ceremony and Positive Representations of Eunuchs in Byzantium (4th-12th centuries)', in *Eunuchs in Antiquity and Beyond*, ed. Shaun Tougher (London, 2002), p.168; Shaun Tougher, 'Holy Eunuchs! Masculinity and Eunuch Saints in Byzantium', in *Holiness and Masculinity in the Middle Ages*, eds. P.H. Cullum and Katherine J. Lewis (Cardiff, 2004), pp.93-108; Ryan D. Giles, 'The Miracle of Gerald the Pilgrim: Hagiographic Visions of Castration in the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* and *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*', in *Neophilologus*, 94:3 (2010), pp.442-443.
[773] Tougher, *Eunuch in Byzantine History and Society*, pp.99-109.
[774] Kuefler, *Manly Eunuch*, pp.34-35; Tougher, *Eunuch in Byzantine History and Society*, pp.32-34; Kathryn Reusch, 'Raised Voices: The Archaeology of Castration', in *Castration and Culture in the Middle Ages*, ed. Larissa Tracy (Cambridge, 2013), pp.36-37.
[775] Kuefler, *Manly Eunuch*, p.34.
[776] Patrick Barbier, *The World of the Castrati: the History of an Extraordinary Operatic phenomenon*, trans. Margaret Crosland (London, 1996), pp.19-21 and 62-81.
[777] David Ayalon, *Eunuch, Caliphs and Sultans: A Study in Power Relationships* (Jerusalem, 1999); pp.304-315; Kuefler, *The Manly Eunuch*, p.33; Vern L. Bullough, 'Eunuchs in History and Society', in

genitals, eunuchs in the Byzantine and the Islamic worlds were often considered non-sexual beings. With the threat of fathering illegitimate children removed, they were allowed to move freely between male and female spheres and in the case of the Islamic world, also that of children, since they were popular as educators.[778] Other than the prolific scholarship on eunuchs from the Byzantine, and slightly less from the Islamic, worlds, there are also several anthropological studies on eunuchs, especially from the 1930s focusing on the Russian Skoptsy community, and more recently on South-Asian Hijras.[779]

While pre-pubertal castration created a physically distinct, separate, group of men, post-pubertal castration was different. Since the body had already changed during puberty, the visual and other sensory indications of their status were missing. They might have already had the chance to father children and fulfil their role as fully realised men. While the most famous example of a castration in the Latin West was that of the theologian and Master of Paris, Peter Abelard (d.1142), with many studies written on his castration, there were many other examples of castration as retribution.[780] Castration in the Latin world was as a punishment meant to be de-masculinising and de-virilising and that was how it was perceived by medieval people. This was explored by Klaus van Eickels, who showed that

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Eunuchs in Antiquity and Beyond, ed. Shaun Tougher (London, 2002), p.3; Larissa Tracy, 'Introduction: A History of Calamities: The Culture of Castration', in *Castration and Culture in the Middle Ages*, ed. Larissa Tracy (Cambridge, 2013), pp.4-5.

[778] Kuefler, *Manly Eunuch*, pp.96-102; Tougher, *Eunuch in Byzantine History and Society*, pp.26-29; Ayalon, *Eunuchs, Caliphs and Sultans*, pp.39-42.

[779] Serena Nanda, *Neither Man nor Woman: the Hijras of India* (Belmont, 1990); Tougher, *Eunuch in Byzantine History and Society*, pp.10-13 and 23-24; Gayatri Reddy, *With Respect to Sex: Negotiating Hijra Identity in South India* (London, 2005); Vinod Bel, 'The Eunuchs', in *Men of the Global South*, ed. Adam Jones (London, 2006), pp.84-85; Reusch, 'Raised Voices', pp.38-39

[780] Murray, 'Mystical Castration', pp.75-78; Yves Ferroul, 'Abelard's Blissful Castration' in *Becoming Male in the Middle Ages*, eds. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen and Bonnie Wheeler (London, 2000), pp.129-149; Martin Irvine, 'Abelard and (Re)Writing the Male Body: Castration, Identity, as Remasculinizaton', in *Becoming Male in the Middle Ages*, eds. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen and Bonnie Wheeler (London, 2000), pp.87-106; Sean Eisen Murphy, 'The Letter of the Law: Abelard, Moses, and the Problem with Being a Eunuch', in *The Journal of Medieval History*, 30:2 (2004), pp.161-185.

Norman culture used castration for a much greater variety of crimes than the merely sexual.[781] He also noted that in the medieval mind-set, the male genitals were not necessarily associated with lust but primarily with manhood. Castration was most commonly used as a punishment in the Scandinavian and Norman worlds, but also occurred elsewhere in the Latin world. It was also, clearly, used in cases of personal retribution, and often figures in laws relating to this in different parts of Europe. There are several examples of legal codes from areas like Anglo-Saxon England and Frisia that list compensation for castration as higher than that for killing someone, since it was linked to both loss of masculine honour and loss of future children. [782] Necessarily, this had an impact on the whole kin-group. However, views on the legal value of castration were not uniform in the Latin world. In the Frankish world castration could be seen as monstrous and it was really only in the Norman world that it was used as a punishment for political crimes, rather than those of a sexual nature.[783]

The difference in the Scandinavian and Norman worlds was that non-lethal but de-masculinising punishment was generally more common.[784] Insult was seen as just as harsh as physical injury and, in the Norman World, the worst insult to receive was to be accused of being unmanly. [785] Castration made that insult both spiritual and physical. Elsewhere, castration was more clearly linked with sexual crimes and, in terms of sexual misconduct, with the aforementioned laws forbidding sexual relations between Christian women and

[781] Klaus van Eickels, 'Gendered Violence: Castration and Blinding as Punishment for Treason in Normandy and Anglo-Norman England', in *Gender & History*, 16:3 (2004), p.596.
[782] Rolf H. Bremmer Jr., 'The Children He Never Had; The Husband She Never Served; Castration and Genital Mutilation in Medieval Frisian Law', in *Castration and Culture in the Middle Ages*, ed. Larissa Tracy (Cambridge, 2013), pp.108-130; Lisi Oliver, 'Genital Mutilation in Medieval Germanic Law', in *Capital and Corporal Punishment in Anglo-Saxon England*, eds. Jay Paul Gates and Nicole Marafioti (Woodbridge, 2014), pp.48-73; Kuefler, 'Castration and Eunuchism in the Middle Ages', pp.288-289.
[783] van Eickels, 'Gendered Violence', pp.592-593.
[784] van Eickels, 'Gendered Violence', pp.593-594.
[785] van Eickels, 'Gendered Violence', pp.590-591

Saracen men in the Kingdom of Jerusalem and other places.[786] In the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the cutting of a woman's nose held a similar symbolic meaning, since the Council of Nablus's ruling was that, while a Saracen man should be castrated, a Christian woman should have her nose removed or split.[787] These two punishments appear to have had similar connotations: men being deprived of ability to father children and women losing their beauty as a way to make them less likely to marry and therefore to bear children.[788]

Castration may have been used a lot more frequently as a punishment in the Scandinavian and Norman worlds, but that does not mean that un-manning punishments were absent in other areas and there is certainly a need for more research in this field. While castration was a permanent punishment meant to de-man the criminal, there were other punishments that could have a similar symbolic meaning to castration, while not having the same permanent impact. John Meysman's study, concerning the medieval Low Countries, argues that the clearest form of temporary un-manning would be the public cutting of a man's beard.[789] While hair in general had clear symbolic meanings, and the fashion for both head and facial hair did change over time there was a clear link between a man's beard and his masculinity. This actually figures heavily in *Cantar el Mio Cid*, where Rodrigo swears to stop cutting his own beard when he is exiled from Alfonso's court, and his growing beard mirrors his growing prowess and success.[790] However, while haircutting was temporary, castration was permanent.

[786] Kedar, 'On the Origins of the Earliest Laws of Frankish Jerusalem', p.313; van Eickels, 'Gendered Violence', pp.588-602; Tracy, 'Introduction', pp.22-23.
[787] Kedar, 'On the Origins of the Earliest Laws of Frankish Jerusalem', p.313.
[788] Skinner, *Living with Disfigurement*, pp.140-142.
[789] Stefan Meysman, 'Degrading the Male Body: Manhood and Conflict in the High-medieval Low Countries', in *Gender & History*, 28:2 (2016), pp.372-378.
[790] *Poem of the Cid*, 76 p.89, 91 pp.109-110, 120 p.153 and 140 pp.191-193.

Actual and symbolic castrations were important to Latin culture but the pre-pubertally castrated eunuchs had no role in that society. The castrated men of the medieval Latin world would have had the outward appearance of any other man and could possibly have fathered children before the castration. The castration of an adult man was a punishment meant to target his masculinity, but the outward effects were less than that of pre-pubertal castration. With castration being used for a variety of crimes in the Norman world, to which Sicily belonged, this link between castration and punishment becomes important. Even if pre-pubertal eunuchs were different, castrated as children, it is probable that the link between castration and crimes still figured in the medieval Latin mind. The Sicilian eunuchs would not only have been seen as lacking in manhood as a result of their castration, but with their state linked to that of criminals, there is a chance that it raised suspicions towards them further. Also, since they did look and sound different from other members of the court, it made them even more Other.

Eunuchs and the Idea of Faraway Lands

There are more studies on eunuchs in Byzantium than in the Islamic world, and most of these concern Byzantine courtly eunuchs, looked at from various perspectives. They show that even if the specifics might have differed over time and place, the role and position of the eunuch was similar in both the Byzantine and Islamic worlds.[791] Roger II imported

[791] Kathryn M. Ringrose, 'Living in the Shadows: Eunuchs and Gender in Byzantium', in *Third Sex, Third Gender: Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in Cultural History*, ed. Gilbert Herdt (New York, 1994), pp.85-109; Kathryn M. Ringrose, 'Eunuchs as Cultural Mediators', in *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 23 (1996), pp.75-85; Miura Toru and John Edward Philips (eds.), *Slave Elites in the Middle East and Africa* (London, 2000); Kuefler, 'Castration and Eunuchism in the Middle Ages', pp.279-306; Shaun F. Tougher, 'Byzantine Eunuchs: an Overview, with Special Reference to their Creation and Origin', in

administrative methods and culture from these civilisations, especially Fatimid Egypt, and with it the eunuch institution.[792] Eunuchs were connected to high status society and often had power themselves. It is important to remember that the nature of their status was servile with many at least starting as slaves. This was not the case for everyone and some, at least in Byzantium, were younger sons in noble families who were castrated as a career move for the family, since being a eunuch created strong links to centres of power when marriage might not be an option.[793] Another important factor of the social status of eunuchs was that they could not have heirs of the body, which by extension meant a lack of traditional familial ties, but they could instead be members of the royal household.[794] Despite the fact that many scholars have focused on how eunuchs operated in a liminal state in terms of gender, moving between the male and female courtly spheres, there were also eunuchs who took on roles that were limited to male contexts, such as military commanders or priests.[795] However, unlike non-castrated men, eunuchs could also participate in feminine activities such as cooking and wardrobe care, since their gendered status was fluid by nature.[796] Depending on the writer there appears to be some disagreements over their gendered status with some appearing to suggest a completely separate gender category, while at least one notable Byzantine writer, Theophylact of Ochrid (c. 1055- c. 1107), who wrote one of the most extensive treatises on eunuchs,

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Women, Men and Eunuchs: Gender in Byzantium, ed. Liz James (London, 1997), pp.168-184; Mohamed Meouak, *Ṣaqāliba, Eunucques et Esclaves à la Conquête du Puovoir: Géographie et Histoire des Élites Politiques "Marginales" dans L'Espagne Umayyade* (Helsinki, 2004); Kathryn M. Ringrose, *The Perfect Servant: Eunuchs and the Social Construction of Gender in Byzantium* (Chicago, 2004); Tougher, *Eunuch in Byzantine History and Society*; Shaun Tougher, 'Eyeing up Eunuchs: Western Perceptions of Byzantine Cultural Difference', in *Languages of Love and Hate: Conflict , Communication, and Identity in the Medieval Mediterranean*, eds. Sarah Lambert and Helen Nicholson (Turnhout, 2012), pp.87-97.

[792] Johns, *Arabic Administration in Norman Sicily*, p.5

[793] Bullough, 'Eunuchs in History and Society', p.7.

[794] Tougher, 'Holy Eunuchs!', p.93.

[795] Ringrose, 'Living in the Shadows', p.96.

[796] Ringrose, 'Living in the Shadows', p.96.

definitely considered them as men.[797] Some have made the link between the portrayal of angels in Byzantine art and the portrayal of eunuchs in their dress and androgyny, tying this to more positive depictions of eunuchs, and depictions of angels in Byzantine churches do tend to be androgynous.[798] From the Latin perception there was, however, little that seemed angelic about eunuchs.

When looking at typical oriental images, a common motif is that of the harem, with its exotic and sexualised women and their eunuch guards. In the past these ideas have hindered more rigorous studies of the Latin medieval view of eunuchs.[799] It is more uncommon to find research specifically on eunuchs in relation to the views of the 'other' in the Middle Ages, but there are a few exceptions.[800] Sean Tougher has noted Odo of Deuil is surprisingly positive in his writing about eunuchs, although this is part of a narrative of the Greeks showing their opulence while planning on betraying the Christians, a treachery that Odo saw as the reason for the failure of the Second Crusade.[801] Odo wrote about eunuch priests who were singing at the feast of St Denis, in a chapter primarily dedicated to the depiction of Constantinople.

> Since the Greeks celebrated this feast, the emperor knew of it, and he sent over to the king a carefully selected group of his clergy, each whom he had equipped with a large taper decorated elaborately with gold and a great variety of colors; and thus he increased the glory of the ceremony. These clergy certainly differed from ours as to words and order of service, but they made a favorable impression because of their sweet chanting; for the mingling of voices, the heavier with the light, the eunuch's, namely, with the manly voice (for many of them were eunuchs), softened the hearts of the Franks. Also, they gave the onlookers pleasure by their graceful bearing and gentle clapping of hands and genuflexions. We recall these favors on the part of the emperor so that there may be manifest the treachery of him who

[797] Ringrose, 'Living in the Shadows', pp.107-108.
[798] Ringrose, 'Eunuchs as Cultural Mediators', p.78.
[799] Said, *Orientalism*, pp.118-120 and 190; Tougher, *Eunuchs in Byzantine History and Society*, pp.15-16.
[800] Tougher, 'Eyeing up Eunuchs', pp.87-97; Larissa Tracy (ed.), *Castration and Culture in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2013); Birk, *Norman Kings of Sicily*.
[801] Tougher, 'Eyeing up Eunuchs', pp.94-95.

> simulated the friendship which we are accustomed to show only to our most intimate friends while he harboured a feeling which we could not have appeased save by our very death. Surely no one could understand the Greeks without having had experience of them or without being endowed with prophetic inspiration.[802]

Odo is one of the strongest critics of the Greeks. With the narrative appearing to be of a grandiose introduction to Constantinople, that reflects Frankish admiration, the eventual Greek betrayal and their lack of military ability is disguised by this account. The eunuchs, both their voices and movements, are described in an almost sensuous way, but not as overly effeminate. Instead, it is actually the non-castrated Greeks that are described in such a way.

The Greeks initially turned up to help the Franks under Louis VII, and the Germans under Conrad III, on their way to the Holy Land, and they were described as quite helpful. But closer to the Holy Land it was reported that they not only grew more treacherous, but also effeminate. This can be seen when the crusaders were approaching Constantinople. When the Empress sent a message to Queen Eleanor of Aquitaine that the Greek guides delivered they apparently 'degenerated entirely into women, putting aside all manly vigour, both of words and of spirit.'[803] The eunuchs themselves are not mentioned as present here, but this account is clearly critical of the Greeks and their deficient masculinity. While their behaviour might in the Greek context be defined as courtliness, the

[802] Odo of Deuil, *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, IV pp.68-69: 'Novit hoc imperator, colunt etenim Graeci hoc festum, et clericorum suorum electam multitudinem, dato unicuique cereo magno variis coloribus et auro depict, regi transmisit; et sollemnitatis gloriam ampliavit. Illi quidem a nostris clericis verborum et organi genere dissidebant sed suavi modulation placebant; voces enim mixtae, robustior cum graecili, eunucha videlicet cum virile (erant enim enuchi multi illorum), Francorum animos demulcebant. Gestu etiam corpris decenti et modesto plausu manuum et infelxione articulorum iocunditatem visibus offerebant. Referimus imperatoris obsequie ut pateat dolus ipsius qui praetendebat affectum quem solemus amicis praecordialibus demonstrare et gerebat animum quem non possemus nisi mortibus nostris placare. Certe nemo Graecos cognosceret nisi experimento vel spiritu prophetiae!'

[803] Odo of Deuil, *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, III pp.56-59: 'frangebantur in feminas; omne virile robur et verborum et animi deponents'.

culture clash invoked here is expressed in a gendered way. Their growing effeminacy is linked with their arrogance and treacherous behaviour. While this was only the first step, Odo eventually revealed that the Greeks and Turks were secretly allied. The *De Profectione Ludovici VII* ends with the Latins having to return, since the Turks were fighting them, aided by the Greeks, while the Greeks extorted money from the crusaders when they wanted to return home.[804] Odo portrayed the Greeks as effeminate, and their treacherous nature was linked to this, which was a common idea for medieval Latin writers.[805] Here, this was non-castrated men, although eunuchs were noted as members of that degenerate society.

Another comment about eunuchs from crusader sources is by Fulcher of Chartres and also about Greeks: he judged that 20 000 eunuchs lived in Constantinople alone.[806] Harold S. Fink believes Fulcher's comment was simply based on the view of the Latins, or 'unsophisticated Westerners' as he decides to call them, of the Byzantine court, rather than his own observations.[807] Mentioning eunuchs was, therefore, a way to show the exotic nature of the court, since they were inherently alien. But while the inclusion of eunuchs as a way to show otherness holds water, Fink's comment is on the whole problematic, since it relies on the use of later Orientalist tropes, specifically emphasising the parts of Fulcher's texts which fit with Said's analysis. A better approach is taken by John V. Tolan in relation to how early medieval Iberian Christian writers described their ruling Saracens. Instead of using Said's tropes, Tolan argued that the aspects of 'othering' were used to show resistance and emphasise their differences.[808] Fulcher included the number of eunuchs to

[804] Odo of Deuil, *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, VII pp.127-141.
[805] Bennett, 'Virile Latins, Effeminate Greeks and Strong Women'.
[806] Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, I:IX p.79; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, I:IX p.177: 'Ut ibi, ut arbitror, fere XX milia spadones in habitatione absidua'.
[807] Fulcher of Chartres, *History of the Expedition to Jerusalem 1095-1127*, p.79 n.2.
[808] John V. Tolan, 'Afterword', in *Contextualising the Muslim Other in Medieval Christian Discourse*, ed. Jerold C. Frakes (New York, 2011), p.171.

both show the wealth of the Byzantine court, and to emphasise that it could express itself in a way that made it clear that theirs was a different society, but did not necessarily mean that Fulcher disapproved or judged Constantinople like later writers describing the Ottoman empire might. Even if the Latin Christians in Odo and Fulcher's texts were not ruled by the Byzantines, the use of eunuchs in the texts worked similarly, as an ethnic marker of that society. The use of eunuchs could easily be used to show the lack of manliness among the Byzantines, even if it was only implied. Other Greek men needed to be described as effeminate, but eunuchs simply needed to exist for it to be implied. The question is whether this was the same for representations of eunuchs in Islamic societies. The eunuchs of Sicily are a different case, since they were not outside of Latin society, but there are also examples from *Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis* of Saracen eunuchs in a crusader context.

Generally eunuchs are rare in the crusader sources but, when they are mentioned, they are done so without much explanation, which assumes that the reader would know what they were and what their social role was. That was the case with the large number of eunuchs in *Historia Hierosolymitana*, the Byzantine eunuch priests of Odo of Deuil's Constantinople, as well as the eunuch servants of the Fatimids, described by William of Tyre. Their inclusion is in the same diplomatic meeting between Hugh Grenier of Caesarea and the Fatimid caliph al-'Ādid, and comes as a part of a larger depiction of the Fatimid court. In the paragraph describing the wealth of the court, a chief eunuch is mentioned as part of the otherness of the court, shown as directly connected to the exotic opulence on display.[809] Not much value is placed on the eunuchs themselves here, as in the case of Fulcher and Odo, but they are a part essential to the whole. Again, the Fatimids are shown

[809] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.2 XIX:18 p.320.

as more effeminate than for example the Turks, but eunuchs are also shown in the Turkish context.

In William of Tyre's account of the death of Imad ad-Dīn Zangid in 1146, the Turkish satrap who conquered Edessa in 1144, eunuchs are included. Zangid was betrayed and murdered, according to William, as the result of a conspiracy between the Lord of Damascus, a town which he was besieging at the time, his own chamberlains, and his eunuchs.[810] That his chamberlains and eunuchs are specifically named is unsurprising. Chamberlains would have been his close political allies and William, who spent most of his life in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, was most likely aware that eunuchs were often part of the household of their master. Their inclusion was therefore meant to show that those closest to Zangid colluded with his enemies. Notable is that neither of these examples, from the Fatimid court or Zangid's camp, are connected to the more positive and traditionally male accounts of Saracen leaders. It is the effeminised Fatimids, or the more problematic Turkish leaders, who make use of them. While part of the inclusion might simply be for flavour, showing the exotic differences between the Christians and Saracens, they do appear to be included only when it was in the interest of the writers to show the Saracens as weaker. There is also a clear link to treachery. Tougher argued that representations of Byzantine eunuchs were only included when it was in the interest of the author to show the Byzantines as weak and effeminate and removed when a victory against them needed to celebrated; perhaps something similar is happening here.[811] It was Zangid, not Nūr ad-Dīn, nor Mu'in ad-Dīn Unur, nor Saladin, who were shown as having eunuch followers, even if they probably did, since it would undermine their status as men by including eunuchs.

[810] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, v.2 XVI:7 p.146.
[811] Tougher, 'Eyeing up Eunuchs', pp.95-96.

Eunuchs were inherently alien to Latin Christians and this is clear in the texts. Nowhere in the Holy Land do we find Latin lords who had adopted eunuchs as administrators. Instead they appear to have been used as a literary trope to show otherness.

Eunuchs in the West: the Norman Kingdom of Sicily

Although eunuchs were widely used in al-Andalus, there are no examples of eunuchs in the Iberian sources, despite *Historia Roderici* covering the Muslim court of Zaragoza.[812] While it had been one of the main markets for eunuchs in the early Middle Ages, their popularity in Iberia decreased from the eleventh century, even if they were still used.[813] That there are no eunuchs in *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* is less surprising since it is less concerned with the Islamic courts, but other groups, such as Mozarabs are mentioned in the text. It is impossible to tell if this was because there were no eunuchs there, which seems unlikely, or whether the author did not see the relevance in including them, or because the author had a negative view of eunuchs and therefore did not want to include them in a depiction of a court he appeared to favour.

In contrast, eunuchs played a central role in one of the main sources for the history of the Kingdom of Sicily, Hugo Falcandus' *Liber de Regno Sicilie*. While the author clearly points the finger at Maio as the greatest perpetrator of tyranny, his assassination in 1160 comes relatively early in the account and, from that point on, a lot of the focus of the source is on the power of eunuchs. That means that Falcandus' depiction of eunuchs is in

[812] Meouak, *Ṣaqāliba*, p.237; Glaire D. Anderson, *The Islamic Villa in Early Medieval Iberia: Architecture and Court Culture in Umayyad Córdoba* (Farnham, 2013), pp.18-24.
[813] Olivia Remie Constable, *Trades and Traders in Muslim Spain: the Commercial Realignment of the Iberian Peninsula, 900-1500* (Cambridge, 1994), p.206; Tougher, 'Eyeing up Eunuchs', p.90.

general quite negative, but he attacks them in different ways than he had in the case of Maio. Alex Metcalfe has noted that in some Sicilian legal sources it can be difficult to tell who is a eunuch and who is not, but that is not the case in Falcandus' text.[814] The eunuchs are all identified with the title *Caid*, which probably came from the Arabic word *qā'id*, meaning leader.[815] While the title originally was not only meant to mean eunuch, it was clearly used so by Falcandus and it also raises the question whether the fact that their title was Arabic in origin emphasised their otherness.

Eunuchs were probably used in the Kalbid administration on Sicily before the Norman invasion under Roger I and Robert Guiscard, but initially they were not used by the Normans. Roger I and Adelaide did not attempt to maintain the previous administration but this changed when Roger II began reforming as he went from being a duke to becoming a king and began to adopt both Greek and Arabic administrators and administrative methods. [816] After his 1130 coronation, the use of eunuchs expanded, especially under the guidance of George of Antioch and Maio of Bari.[817] As discussed, Philip of Mahdiyya's period in the same position was short-lived. While other aspects of this reform are well known, such as the financial administrative body, the *dīwān,* what is relevant here is that eunuchs began to be used across the Norman administration. The eunuchs were generally slaves, bought from Christian or Jewish merchants or taken in the wars in Ifriqiya (North Africa).[818] This was an Islamic region, and since it has already been made clear that Christians could not be enslaved, the fact that the slaves bought were Saracens is evident.

[814] Metcalfe, *Muslims of Medieval Italy*, p.194.
[815] Metcalfe, *Muslims of Medieval Italy*, p.194.
[816] Johns, *Arabic Administration in Norman Sicily*, p.63.
[817] Metcalfe, *Muslims of Medieval Italy*, p.193.
[818] Johns, *Arabic Administration in Norman Sicily*, pp.249-250; Metcalfe, *Muslims of Medieval Italy*, p.194.

However, because non-Christians could not hold important positions in the Norman administration, enslaved Saracens were baptised. This is why in Latin texts they have Christian names, such as Peter, Martin and Philip, rather than Arabic names. Their original names are known in some cases and tended to be Arabic, for example Caid Peter was originally called Ahmed, and had been taken from the island Djerba, possibly in 1135.[819] There were doubts, and sometimes legitimately so, over the sincerity of their conversion, which will be discussed below.

While Maio was simply depicted as a tyrant, eunuchs in general also had some issues that appear to be linked to their gender. In the Latin grammar they are gendered male and their administrative positions and military roles were those limited to men. However, in *Liber de Regno Sicilie* they are called both *servi effeminati* ('effeminate servants') and *devirati homini* ('unmanly men'), suggesting that they were lacking in their masculinity. [820] While they were not explicitly able to move between the feminine and masculine spheres, as in Byzantium, they are shown as close allies of Queen Margaret of Navarre, regent between 1154 and 1166. The relationship in the text probably reflected reality, since they were important administrators, but the source shows them as lacking male allies at the court, which might be to emphasise their liminal and effeminised role. Since they were clearly described as men, not members of a third gender, this idea is central. Liminality is often culturally linked with impurity and societal threat.[821] They were men, but failing to live up to their social roles, this was not only a personal failure but a problem for all of Sicilian society.

[819] Falcandus, *History of the Tyrants of Sicily*, p.147 n.142; Birk, *Norman Kings of Sicily*, p.182.
[820] Falcandus, *La Historia o Liber de Regno Sicilie*, p.97.
[821] Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: an Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London, 1966), p.40.

While most historians writing on tyranny tend to focus on Falcandus' colourful description of Maio of Bari, the accusation of tyranny clearly included the eunuchs. Falcandus believed that rulers, notably Roger II, could, or perhaps should, be harsh, as long as they were acting correctly within the laws of God. Tyranny was misrule that displeased God. He also considered tyranny to be hereditary.[822] This meant that those who were not born to rule, should not rule, since the risk of tyranny was greater then. Falcandus accused Maio of Bari of being of low birth, which was untrue, and linked this to the fact that he was a tyrant.[823] That meant that, according to Falcandus, it was possible to be a hard ruler, but as long as they were acting correctly and were of good birth this was not tyranny. This is even more relevant when looking at the eunuchs who often came from a background of slavery. There are many examples throughout the source of eunuchs abusing justice, either by their own judgement at court, or in conspiring with others outside it.

Caid Peter, one of the key courtly eunuchs who served as Master Chamberlain under William II, was one of these Saracens who abused justice and used his access to Queen Margaret of Navarre to do so. She was, according to Falcandus, particularly fond of Caid Peter and granted him a lot of power.[824] Despite his corruption, Caid Peter is one of the few people about whom Falcandus has something nice to say. In fact, when the minority government of King William II was set up, and Peter was given the title Master Chamberlain along with extensive powers by Queen Margaret, he is described as, despite his flaws and changeable nature, 'gentle, pleasant and likeable'[825] as a good courtier should

[822] Graham A. Loud, 'The Image of the Tyrant in the Work of 'Hugo Falcandus'', in *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 57 (2013), pp.6-7.
[823] Loud, 'Image of the Tyrant in the Work of 'Hugo Falcandus', pp.7-11 and 13-14.
[824] Falcandus, *History of the Tyrants of Sicily*, p.139.
[825] Falcandus, *History of the Tyrants of Sicily*, p.139; Falcandus, *La Historia o Liber de Regno Sicilie*, p.90: 'mansuetus tamen, benignus et affabilis erat'.

be. He is even described as generous, but the 'vice of his race'[826] meant that he would always work to undermine the kingdom. His affability was, however, not a sign of being a good leader or administrator. In fact, since Falcandus favoured the harsh Roger II, Peter's virtues could indicate a degree of softness linked to effeminacy. Being pleasant company did not change the fact that he was using his position to undermine the kingdom. Certainly, the rest of the account reveals him as a problematic figure.

Caid Peter is shown often acting with cowardice and corruption, changing his mind frequently and taking favourites rather than treating people justly. He especially appears to use penniless knights for his own purposes, using favours to manipulate them to support him instead of his rival, the fully male and fully Christian Gilbert Count of Gravina, whom the landed favoured.[827] This shows a eunuch using his wealth and power to dominate knights who had nothing other than their military strength and courage, attributes in which the eunuch himself was lacking. Here eunuchs are represented as archetypal manipulators and, in terms of masculinity, using the martial nature of the knights against themselves. Peter's close ties to the queen rather than the male nobility might also be emphasised to question his masculinity. But, despite this Peter is painted in a relatively favourable light compared to Gilbert of Gravina.[828] This shows that, even if Peter's actions were problematic, Falcandus was not biased against him simply because he was a Saracen eunuch, but his status as such determined how he was portrayed. Peter is described as a fearful and changeable person, who finally – in fear of the Count of Gravina – ended up fleeing to the Almohads, taking great treasure with him, possibly also the insignia of the

[826] Falcandus, *History of the Tyrants of Sicily*, p.139; Falcandus, *La Historia o Liber de Regno Sicilie*, pp.90-91, 'gentile vitium'.
[827] Falcandus, *History of the Tyrants of Sicily*, p.146.
[828] Johns, *Arabic Administration in Norman Sicily*, p.248.

crown, showing his final act as one of cowardice and treachery.[829] After his flight, the Count of Gravina stirred an argument at court over Peter, slandering him because he had fled, including the fact that he was technically a slave. But Peter was defended by his supporters, including Count Richard of Molise, who claimed that the Caid had been freed by King William I before his death.[830] While this might appear as Falcandus apologising for Peter's escape, excusing his fear, or at least justifying it, bringing up Peter's servile status, despite the fact that he had been freed, shows that he should never have been in a position of power in the first place. Fleeing revealed Peter's cowardice, just as it had when he fled from the naval battle against 'Abd al-Mu'min.[831]

According to Falcandus, Peter's flight was what caused the battle to be lost, and that there was no reason to be as fearful as Peter was. But *Chronicon Sive Annales* states that Peter was defeated and retreated, rather than running away in fear before the fighting, suggesting that Falcandus bent the truth to show Peter as a greater coward.[832] Falcandus portrays it as if the battle would have easily been won, had Caid Peter not run away at the first sight of the enemy. It was not a tactical withdrawal, but a flight born from cowardice. Cowardice is frequently alluded to in Falcandus's description of Peter, connected with the fact that he was a eunuch. That he then allows Peter to flee in the end shows that cowardice and changeability are intrinsically linked to his nature. While he did not receive as much of a condemnation by Falcandus at his final appearance, the inclusion of the theft is notable. Overall Peter is shown as weak, linked to his gendered status as eunuch, his servile status as slave, and because he was a convert from Islam. He was

[829] Falcandus, *History of the Tyrants of Sicily*, pp.147-148.
[830] Falcandus, *History of the Tyrants of Sicily*, p.148.
[831] Falcandus, *History of the Tyrants of Sicily*, pp.78-79.
[832] Romuald of Salerno, 'Chronicon Sive Annales' (2012), p.336.

untrustworthy and treacherous, running to the queen instead of fighting his own battles or relying on men as allies, and when he felt that she could no longer protect him, he ran to the Saracens of North Africa. Despite obviously being one of the Tyrants in the title of the chronicle, neither he, nor the next Master Chamberlain, Caid Richard, nor any of the other eunuchs were described as directly involved in violence. Instead, they used proxies and manipulated people for their own goals, too cowardly to stay and fight their own battles.

Another example of conflict by proxy and abuse of justice and violence is that of Caid Martin, at one point in charge of the Palace of Palermo. Due to his bitterness after his brother's death in a riot 1160-1, he held the Christians collectively responsible (*omnibus imutabat*), since he did not know the perpetrator, and used his legal power to take vengeance.[833] Simply the fact that he had a brother is notable, because he would have been a eunuch slave and the brother was without a doubt also a slave, and thus potentially another eunuch. Martin, like Peter, targeted young, penniless, male nobles, encouraging them to challenge each other to trial by combat for petty reasons, and then had the loser killed without regard to justice. Later, he even allowed dishonourable noblewomen, servants and slaves to put forward allegations against each other.[834] Falcandus claims that Saracens were witnesses to these trials, mocking the participants.[835] Martin not only abused justice, he was also using one of the few things these youths possessed – honour and the ability to prove themselves martially, their physical courage (*virtute corporis*) – against themselves. There is a juxtaposition between the knights, with their physical

[833] Falcandus, *History of the Tyrants of Sicily*, p.130; Falcandus, *La Historia o Liber de Regno Sicilie*, pp.78-79.
[834] Falcandus, *History of the Tyrants of Sicily*, pp.129-131
[835] Falcandus, *History of the Tyrants of Sicily*, p.130.

courage, and Martin, who was one of the effeminate servants or unmanly men.[836] He was clever enough to use the courage of the youths against themselves, but he was himself unable to exact the retribution for his brother that he sought. Especially notable is how this courage is specifically linked to the body, using the word *virtus*, since as already mentioned eunuchs were at points referred to as *devirati homini*. Both Peter and Martin are shown as abusing justice and this is linked to their lack of physical courage.

The fact that Peter and Martin were eunuchs meant that they were lacking in manhood and placed in a liminal role in terms of gender, class and religion. Falcandus is shown as openly denigrating them, denying their true conversion to Christianity and mentioning unsavoury friends. They were, of course, not the only people at the Sicilian court acting tyrannically, but there are some common points in *Liber de Regno Sicilie* that are not as relevant for some of the Christian lords, like the Count of Gravina or Maio of Bari. This is probably for three interlinked reasons: they were eunuchs, slaves (although possibly freed), and crypto-Saracens. The fact that their main targets were young penniless knights is linked to all these factors. While the knights were penniless they had their martial ability; the eunuchs were wealthy, but lacked the military ability of the knights. This is strengthened by Falcandus' portrayal of Peter's actions as an admiral fleeing before the fighting even started. Despite being put in charge of a military venture, he lacked courage to follow it through. The fact that there are contradictions with other Christian sources might suggest that the eunuchs here were depicted in this way because they were eunuchs. This is very similar to the portrayal of Philip of Mahdiyya, who did win a battle, but was too soft afterwards. The eunuchs were clearly represented as inherently weaker

[836] Falcandus, *History of the Tyrants of Sicily*, p.130; Falcandus, *La Historia o Liber de Regno Sicilie*, p.79.

and unmanly, which shaped the way in which the texts attacked them. This is not only true in terms of representations, Joshua C. Birk has pointed out that they were easy political targets because they were only allied with the crown, not the other nobility, so marginalised in terms of their influence.[837] While this might have influenced their representation in terms of enabling these views, the emphasis is clearly on their moral and physical weakness. The eunuchs were failing as men, and their lack of physical masculinity, close ties to the sphere of the Queen, and their cowardice shows them as failing as men, which also can be tied to their status as crypto-Saracens.

The situation for converts in relation to Sicilian eunuchs appears to be more complicated than elsewhere, but similar ideas persist. As discussed, there was an inherent distrust of converts to Christianity, both implicitly and explicitly expressed in these sources. *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* included crypto-Saracen traitors: '[a]t that same time, some evil men, who said that they were Christians were not, surrendered Coria to the Saracens'.[838] Also, while no actual crypto-Saracens are mentioned in William of Tyre, he does mention that, in the reign of Baldwin I, there were some Saracen retainers who converted to gain favour and they are portrayed in a similar way to those in *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*. One Saracen asked to be baptised as Baldwin, a wish Baldwin I granted. However, in position under Baldwin I, the converted Saracen was bribed by the imprisoned Saracen lords of Sidon, who wanted to retake the city in 1111.[839] The plot was

[837] Birk, *Norman Kings of Sicily*, p.193
[838] 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000), II:13, p.210; 'Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris' (2000): 'Per idem tempus a malis hominibus, qui dicebantur se esse Christianos non erant, tradita est Sarracenis Cauria'.
[839] William of Tyre, v.1 XII:14 pp.487-488.

discovered and Baldwin had the convert executed, while the nobles were permitted to leave the city.[840] William of Tyre also reveals a fear of Christians converting to Islam:

> Al-Afdal was an Armenian, born to Christian parents. But, led astray by immense riches, he had renounced his Maker and despised the faith by which alone the righteous live. This man had retaken Jerusalem for his master from the power of the Turks; but in the same year the Christians besieged that city under the protecting power of the Lord and restored it to the faith.'[841]

The fact that Al-Afdal had 'renounced his Maker' (*apostataverat creatore suo*) shows that he had converted to Islam, falling for corporeal temptation and ignoring spiritual salvation. There was clearly a fear of converts maintaining Saracen practices, and the fact that they had converted proved that they could renounce their faith, making them seem more changeable and less trustworthy. Converts were placed in a liminal state between Christians and Saracens, which, recalling the ideas of liminality and impurity, might have created even stronger suspicions of them than of openly Saracen men. This means that the Saracen eunuchs were in a liminal state not only in terms of gender and class, but also religious identity. Birk has suggested that the role of Saracens as crypto-Saracens has been exaggerated and that it was in fact their eunuchism that was central, but the larger context of fear of false converts cannot be ignored.[842] While Philip was the only one whose punishment was represented as specifically linked to his hidden Saracenism, and the gendered and social status of eunuchs played a greater role, the sources tend to highlight religion. The eunuchs are shown as fleeing to Islamic lands, and supporting other crypto-Saracens. Perhaps, as evident in the case of Philip of Mahdiyya, religion was the excuse, but

[840] William of Tyre, v.1 XII:14 p.488.
[841] William of Tyre, v.1 IX:10, p.393; William of Tyre, *Chronique*, v.1 IX:10 p.432: 'Erat autem hic idem Emireius Armenius natione, a christianis originem habens parentibus, sed divitiarum inmensitate suffocatus apostataverat creatore suo, fide neglecta ex qua iustus vivit. Hic idem etiam eodem anno, quo a fideli populo est obsessa et fidei restituta Christiane, eandem a deo protectam civitatem a Turcorum potestate domino suo vendicaverat'.
[842] Birk, *Norman Kings of Sicily*, p.193.

the real reason was the fact that they were eunuchs. But the role of religion is too central to be completely dismissed, and in terms of representations, it means that they were clearly described as Saracens. It seems that their role as not just Saracens, but converted Saracens, worked to enhance the liminality of the Sicilian eunuchs.

That eunuchs were placed in an in-between, liminal state in Byzantium has been noted by Ringrose as part of their actual function, since it made them cultural mediators.[843] This role is, however, not present in these sources. The link between the eunuchs and Saracenism is instead connected with religious treachery. This made them a perfect scapegoat for Falcandus. They were among the more powerful members of society, even if they depended on support from the crown, and the way their tyranny displayed itself was an extension of their nature. *Liber de Regno Sicilie* makes these fears and doubts over their conversion clear, seen when the Master Chamberlain Caid Peter is first introduced: 'Like all the palace eunuchs, this man was a Christian only in name and appearance, but a Muslim by conviction'.[844] According to Falcandus, the issue of Saracens falsely converting was not just something that made Peter's nature problematic, but a real concern about his behaviour that other members of the aristocracy were trying to combat. This was not only true for the eunuchs and, outside of the court, Falcandus shows a greater concern with Saracen converts than those keeping their faith.

According to Falcandus, when Stephen of Perche, another on the short list of people that Falcandus could spare compliments for, became chancellor in 1166 he started attacking baptised Saracens who had either falsely converted or committed apostasy.

[843] Ringrose, 'Eunuchs as Cultural Mediators'.
[844] Falcandus, *History of the Tyrants of Sicily*, p.78; Falcandus, *La Historia o Liber de Regno Sicilie*, p.25: 'isque, sicut et omnes eunuchi palatii, nomine tantum habituque christianus erat, animo saracenus'.

Hearing this, a group of Christian citizens approached him, bringing accusations against the jailor of the Sea Castle of Palermo, Robert of Calatabiano. Robert was accused of crimes including unjustly seizing land and houses, imprisoning and torturing innocent men, taking payment from Saracens to rent a house, offering them protection so that they could rape Christian women and boys without punishment, and even restoring 'a very ancient Muslim shrine in the Sea Castle at his own cost'.[845] These accusations include many of the literary tropes discussed in Chapter Four, such as the restoration of old pagan shrines, but other sources, including letters between Pope Alexander III and Stephen of Perche show that there was either truth to this accusation, or at least a real concern, even if their literary portrayal is adapted to match the tropes and purposes of the text.[846] Important here is that Robert was himself a crypto-Saracen, just like the eunuchs, and had before this been working together with Caid Peter, who allowed Robert to imprison anyone he did not like.[847] When Stephen turned his attention to Robert, the latter instead reached out to the court eunuchs for help and they, in turn, as usual, pleaded to the queen for help. As a result Chancellor Stephen could only try Robert for the crimes falling under church law, namely perjury, incest and adultery, for which he was punished with flogging, imprisonment, public humiliation and confiscation of property.[848] But Robert failed to pay a promised bribe to the court for avoiding punishment for his other crimes, which resulted in him being, ironically, imprisoned in the Sea Castle, where he died after being punished.[849] The case of Robert is linked to a wider issue of dangerous false converts, aided by corrupt eunuchs,

[845] Falcandus, *History of the Tyrants of Sicily*, p.166; Falcandus, *La Historia o Liber de Regno Sicilie*, 41 p.115: 'castello maris antiquissimum Sarracenourum templum propriis sumtibus renovasse'.
[846] Falcandus, *History of the Tyrants of Sicily*, p.166, n.184.
[847] Falcandus, *History of the Tyrants of Sicily*, pp.135-136.
[848] Falcandus, *History of the Tyrants of Sicily*, pp.167-168.
[849] Falcandus, *History of the Tyrants of Sicily*, p.169.

who were false converts themselves. That they supported each other suggests a fear of a greater crypto-Saracen conspiracy, threatening the whole kingdom.

After this event Stephen of Perche was challenged by the eunuchs, led by Caid Richard, then Master Chamberlain, but also non-eunuch Saracens, such as Abū l-Qāsim. Abū l-Qāsim was a powerful aristocrat, but apparently less concerned with Stephen's attack on Saracens and more with the fact that Stephen had granted an audience to his rival, Siddiq.[850] This is only a small glimpse into a greater world of remaining Saracen lords that Falcandus was less interested in, but it clearly shows that even among the higher strata of society not all had converted to Christianity. These Saracen lords do not appear as tyrants, and there appears to have been less concern with those openly Saracen compared to those falsely converted. Since they had remained Saracens, without taking on any kind of liminal role, they were not as problematic.

Liber de Regno Sicilie indicates that, before the trials of Robert of Calatabiano, the Saracen community was quite positive towards Chancellor Stephen, but some of them turned against him as a result of the trial against Robert. The section on Abū l-Qāsim is important, not only because it reveals non-converted ordinary Saracens who allied with these false converts and used their protection, but also, perhaps more surprisingly, that there were other Saracens who were not allied with Robert or the eunuchs. That Abū l-Qāsim is represented as using personal issues, rather than issues of Saracen identity, to oppose Stephen, shows that not all Saracens allied with tyrants and crypto-Saracens. The real fear was of crypto-Saracens, linked to the power the eunuchs had over the courts, since this had a direct impact on justice and allowed them to influence the royal family and

[850] Falcandus, *History of the Tyrants of Sicily*, p.170.

provide protection. In the decades following the death of Roger II there were several anti-Muslim riots in Sicily in which converts were also targeted, showing that there were cross-cultural tensions and, while non-converted Saracens were targets, those converted potentially posed the greater internal threats.[851] Eventually the institution of eunuchs disappeared, and Greek and Arabic as languages of administration were replaced by Latin, and in Sicilian literature romance languages became dominant.[852] Despite some cultural influences from the Islamic world, Sicily was becoming more and more Latinised, which meant that eunuchism was an institution of only relatively short duration. Eunuchs remained a symbol of the alien, the Other, and it appears that even when they were officially in power they were never represented as anything but Others in the Latin chronicles.

Conclusion

It cannot be understated how 'other' pre-pubertally castrated eunuchs were in Latin society, even if they were well-known. Examples from the Early Middle Ages of eunuchs as part of noble gift giving, biblical references and the simple fact that chroniclers did not need to define what they were, indicate that Latin people were aware of their existence. They were, however, never actually considered a part of local culture, even when they lived and worked in that culture. Even in Sicily, where eunuchs were highly important in local administration for decades, Latin lords and writers saw them as problematic. Although Hugo Falcandus did not always represent eunuchs as tyrants, the ways in which their

[851] Metcalfe, *Muslims of Medieval Italy*, pp.184-186 and 275.
[852] Karla Mallette, *The Kingdom of Sicily, 1100-1250: a Literary History* (Philadelphia, 2005), pp.6-11.

tyranny was expressed was, however, closely linked to their status as eunuchs. There are running themes concerning all tyrants, such as abuse of justice and favouritism of unjust people, but the eunuchs do not participate in violence or sexual misconduct themselves, even if they enable other people, notably other Saracens and crypto-Saracens, to do so. This seems to support the notion of them being de-virilised or de-manned men, not members of a third gender, in a liminal position, possessing, yet also lacking, masculinity. Eunuchs are in several instances also depicted as cowards but the judgement by Falcandus for this is surprisingly lenient, and even excused at points, perhaps since it was a natural part of their gendered role. While gendered male, they were very reliant on the support of women, here specifically Queen Margaret of Navarre, and they certainly appear to be very changeable, a trait which was linked to their role as crypto-Saracens. There was no question of whether they were false converts or not; according to Falcandus they all were. This role as false Christians is what makes Saracen eunuchs different from Greek eunuchs. That they were eunuchs might have been most important for why they were targeted, but the way they are represented placed their religious identity in focus, and closely linked to their perceived gender identity. They were not the only false converts in the accounts, but the fact that eunuchs were in a position of power, despite their liminal status, appears deeply problematic in the sources.

What does this mean for the general view of Saracen masculinity? The Greeks were often described as effeminate. They failed to fulfil their manly duties in a way that many of the Latin writers agreed on, in particular Odo of Deuil. But this was often not the case for Saracen men. Instead, it appears that conversion, gender, and class all contributed to make the eunuchs weak. But not only eunuchs were false converts, and the fear of the latter was more general. Conversion meant a spiritual and physical change and eunuchs had already

gone through this with their castration. Many of the consequences of this would have been visible or audible to the Latin people they encountered. This could make the insecurity about their identity, as perceived by the Latins, much stronger. This, along with their status as slaves with great power, placed them in a position of ultimate liminality in terms of gender, class, and religion. While Saracenism might not be inherently connected to liminality and weakness, it certainly made men vulnerable, especially when converting and losing their status as worthy enemies. With these clear symbols of Otherness it is not unexpected that Caid Philip, Caid Martin and Philip of Mahdiyya became such great targets, both during their lives and in later historical representations.

Conclusion

The twelfth century was one of change. The formation of a Latin Christian identity and the growth of the individual, at the same time as a growth of intolerance, meant that ideas about those outside of the norm were developing over the course of the century. With the nascent crusader movement, that came to shape the Latin, and eventually European, view of the surrounding world, this became especially true for the representation of Muslims. As a result of the central, but changing role, of the Saracens, historians and literary scholars looking at Muslim men in medieval sources have come to many different conclusions, finding everything from virtuous knights to barbarian monsters. Actually, there is a lot of nuance in how the Saracens were portrayed, and it varies not just over time, but by location and genre. Medieval authors relied on literary tropes to different extents, with themes from *chansons de geste* occurring in chronicles. Also, different authors had different levels of knowledge about the people they were describing, which can in part be ascribed to their specific geopolitical and cultural contexts.

William of Tyre, writing in the Kingdom of Jerusalem and known as one of the more objective writers about the crusade, was well immersed in the context of his text. He lived in the environment he was describing and had a great deal of knowledge about the Islamic world. Yet, he was still shaped by the attitudes of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, as well as his earlier education in France and Northern Italy. He also used earlier Western European, usually Frankish, eyewitness accounts as his sources. The result is a chronicle that reveals a lot about the view of Saracens in the Latin East. There, Saracens were the constant enemy but also neighbours who had to be dealt with diplomatically. Rather than being the far distant enemy of the *chansons de geste*, they were in real proximity and a part of political

and martial life. Yet, despite this proximity, with Jerusalem as a focal point for crusading, crusading ideals from the Latin West were strong in the writings from Outremer. William is therefore seen as balancing the idea of Holy War against the Muslim Turks with the pragmatic need for political stability. He did not live to see Jerusalem fall to Saladin, when all that was swept away. It is clear William preferred to represent the Saracen man as an enemy.

The Saracen men of William of Tyre are more clearly defined than those of early crusader sources. William's superior knowledge about them, in terms of their customs, ethnicities, and religion shines through every page. While Guibert de Nogent had some understanding of Islam as a religion, William of Tyre not only had secure knowledge of Islam, but also a good understanding of the ethnic groups of the Middle East. This shapes how the Saracen men were represented, since they were not simply faceless hordes of unknown 'others'. Despite this William shows a reluctance to accept Saracen allies. Although a necessity, it is played down, and when Saracen allies occur in the text he either effeminises them, accuses them of treachery, or gives them a legitimate reason for acting as allies, such as being secret Christians. The Saracens were meant to be enemies, although William accepts that there were degrees to this, accepting rivals such as Mu'in ad-Dīn Unur who did not upset the status quo in the region too much, while those who acted too harshly against the Christians, like Imad ad-Dīn Zangid, were met with disdain. Compared to other later crusade sources, like Odo of Deuil and Otto of St Blasien, William's Saracens are revealed to have a lot more personality and his representations of them are more nuanced, especially since alliances could even be considered, but the crusading ideal still inflects these representations. Saracen men were to William, just like to the French and German

chroniclers, the perfect enemy against whom the Latin knights could demonstrate their martial prowess.

Comparatively, the sources from Southern Italy reveal a similar degree of knowledge about the different ethnicities among the Saracens. This is especially notable in the writing of Geoffrey Malaterra. His use of romance tropes necessarily repeated a lot of misinformation about Saracens that Malaterra would probably have known was untrue. What the Sicilian material reveals is change over time, from the account in *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii* of the earliest Norman invasions, to the anti-Muslim riots recorded in Hugo Falcandus's writing. Malaterra is, despite his problems, surprisingly nuanced in terms of his representations of Saracens, revealing no issue in portraying them as both allies and enemies. The degree of monstrosity displayed by some Saracens does reveal that their otherness meant that it was easier to attribute such behaviour to them. It seems unlikely that Malaterra would have portrayed one of the Lombard leaders as a heart-eating cannibal. The Saracens were, according to him, at least more open to monstrosity and treachery. But many still behaved appropriately, following their set roles in society, as allies or enemies. This had changed by the time Falcandus was writing. He reveals a great hesitance over Saracen converts, especially the eunuchs, but also those beyond the court. The non-converted Saracens received less attention, portrayed as a lesser threat, but they are still a threat. Generally, *Liber de Regno Sicilie* reveals a great deal of revulsion for Saracens living within the kingdom, while being surprisingly positive for the Saracens beyond their borders. Since the source concerns the poor leadership of Sicily, it is remarkable that one of the key leaders who acted honourably in the text is the leader of the Almohads. Perhaps it was easier to portray a completely alien leader, who was not even Christian, in this light, following normative ideas of male leadership. It might also have

enhanced the failure of Sicilian leadership further, since it revealed that even non-Christians were more just.

The same ideas found in William of Tyre's work are shown in Falcandus', namely that Saracen men were meant to be enemies, not allies. Those who were allies were portrayed as treacherous and occasionally effeminate. Indeed, the idea that Louise Mirrer put forward in relation to Muslim men in Iberian literature is far more applicable here. The earlier romance idea of the Saracen, which relied on earlier narratives about pagans, merging with crusader ideas appears much more prominent in these contexts. Most Saracens portrayed were knights or rulers, and clearly those who were best able to perform their duties were the unconverted enemies. If Saracens were meant to be the mirrors of Christian knights, when they failed, they not only failed as enemies, they also failed to uphold their social role. Saracens might have been more open to monstrous violence and treachery, but they were far more likely to succumb to this if they abandoned their role as enemy. Saracens were portrayed open to change through conversion or friendship, yet easily corrupted, succumbing to treachery and effeminacy, if they did change. In conceptualising the Saracen male body, many historians have drawn on how Jewish men were portrayed. Jewish men have been shown as malleable and effeminate in their nature but also with gendered identities formed through acts like circumcision. This was clearly not the case for Saracen men, as long as they remained unconverted and, at least in the case for Sicily and the Kingdom of Jerusalem in the second half of the twelfth century, remained in their role as the constant external enemy. Clearly, care must be exercised when using material concerning Jewish people not to assume that the same that was true for them was also true for Saracens. We cannot assume that they were represented in the same way just because they were both monotheistic non-Christians. That there were links

between how Jews and Muslims were portrayed cannot be entirely denied, they were the two main non-Christian outsider groups at a time when there was a rise in prejudice and persecution, but how they were portrayed was often different. Saracens who had been pacified, made friends or allies, entered a similar role to that of the Jews, making the comparison more apt in those circumstances.

Despite the difference in situation, the Kingdoms of Sicily and Jerusalem appear to have portrayed Saracens in quite similar ways, but this is not true of texts from the Iberian Peninsula. Despite the growth of *Reconquista* and crusading ideals, the twelfth-century sources reveal little concern with the Holy War context, with a few exceptions, such as the *Poem of Almería*. Most historians have only looked at the representation of the Almoravids and missed how Saracen allies are portrayed. Hundreds of years of coexistence meant not only greater mutual knowledge, but also a greater degree of pragmatism in how relations between the two groups were portrayed. There is surprisingly little attention drawn to differences in terms of ethnicity and religion in the Iberian material concerning the non-Almoravid Saracens. The knights and rulers appear no less competent than their Christian counterparts and they appear to fulfil their social roles as knights and leaders in very similar ways. That there are representations of problematic Christian knights, such as Muño Alfonso, makes this even clearer. While the Saracens are shown as heretics, not pagans, their faith does not hold a central role. Their religion was a flaw but not one that hindered them from being fully realised men and acting both as allies and rivals. Conversion also does not appear to have been encouraged, since the only time it is referred to is in terms of crypto-Saracens. Again, changing one's nature seems to be seen as a corrupting element across all these sources, regardless of geographical background. But while becoming an ally

appears to go against the nature of the Saracens elsewhere, at least in this period, this does not seem to be the case in *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* or *Historia Roderici*.

While there is no distinction drawn between the different Muslim ethnic groups, the only distinction is that between the Almoravids and the Almohads, and the other Saracens. The Amazigh confederacies were a powerful force in the twelfth century and a great threat to the Christian kingdoms of Iberia. The simple fact that the Almoravids are called Moabites is an indication of the threat level. There were many biblical elements of *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, and it concerned campaigns that were connected to the *Reconquista*, meaning that in terms of representations, the Almoravid's role as primary antagonist is central. While Christian enemies are more likely to be shown as more cowardly and treacherous than Rodrigo Díaz or the Leonese and Castilian knights of *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, the Almoravids are a punishment from God. While they do live up to their set roles, they are not as brave, just, or martially competent as their Castilian and Leonese counterparts. Then again, neither are the other Saracen or Christian groups in *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*. They might be morally better than the Almorvids, and better fighters, but they are still not as competent and just as the Castilians. Also, while there are *Reconquista* motifs in both the Iberian sources used here, the purpose of the texts was not to promote crusade, but rather to promote their male protagonists. The context of Holy War against the Almoravids and Almohads was used to do this, but so too were tropes from romances and heroic epics. The Almoravids were the true mirror for the Christian Iberian knights and kings, and the one that allowed both Rodrigo Díaz and Alfonso VII to display effectively their military and ruling masculinities.

The need to defeat enemies and display military success is a common theme in all these sources. Whether it was the banner or the head, representations of one's victories

were of great importance. These symbols were meant to be humiliating displays of the Saracen body, figuratively and literally. While brutal violence was a clear part of medieval warfare, representations of the breaking the Saracen male body appear to have been closer at hand than for other Latin Christians. Their otherness might have made such actions on their bodies a lesser taboo, and the same goes for splitting them from head to toe in combat regardless of geographic area. The Saracen knight was a worthy enemy but, throughout his body was also one that could be broken as a sign of Christian male prowess, without any stigma attached to it. Perhaps the roots of the Moor's or Saracen's head as a heraldic device can be found in this practice. It was not only more socially acceptable to break the body of a Saracen man, his body was in a sense there to be broken. Behind all the ideals of Saracens as warriors, ideally the Saracen man was a defeated opponent, and nothing more clearly indicated this than his severed head, banner, or ruined body. In this sense, the Saracen male body might have been considered as strong, until it was defeated, when it was reduced to its parts. It became a symbol of pride, disgust and mortality.

There were some common themes about Saracen men across the Latin world that can be connected to general views of alien and non-Christian men: they were Othered and perceived as good enemies. There were, however, clear regional differences. While material from both the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Kingdom of Sicily reflect the ideals of Continental Europe, especially from the middle of the twelfth century, they are also inflected by regional knowledge and proximity. Iberia was also influenced by these ideals but to a much lesser degree, at least in this period. Saracen men were a threat but primarily militarily and in terms of religion. Militarily, they were about as dangerous to non-combatants as their Christian counterparts. It was, again, when they became an internal threat that they also became a real threat to women and children, since that was when

their changeable, corrupted, and corrupting nature truly became an issue, threatening the fabric of Latin Christendom.

The introduction to this thesis set out discussing the post 9/11 context and how it had brought medievalism to the forefront of politics, often tied together with Islamophobia. Singular events are among the far-right used as examples to show Muslim men are misogynistic, out of control in terms of sexuality, and unable to live in a civilized Western society. One of the most infamous examples is the mass sexual assaults at the New Years' celebration in Cologne 2015/2016. While the events themselves are horrifying, they were portrayed as representative for all Muslim men, playing into a greater narrative of portraying non-white men as a threat to white women.[853] Also, in contrast, the fact that a 2017 UNHCR report revealed that young male Syrians who remain in the Middle East run a high risk of sexual assault themselves has received comparatively little media attention.[854] The hateful rhetoric against Muslims has not died down as we move further away from 2001, the opposite has happened. George W. Bush might have used the term 'crusade' to describe the War on Terror, but he also directly spoke to Muslims in other presidential addresses, publically stating that terrorists were different from ordinary Muslims.[855] In comparison, Donald Trump, in his presidential campaign expressed no such sympathies. In

[853] Kwok 'Unbinding Our Feet', pp. 63-65; Jim Yardley, 'Sexual Attacks Widen Divisions in European Migrant Crisis', in *The New York Times* (13 January, 2016) [https://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/14/world/europe/a-climate-of-fear-widens-divisions-in-europes-migrant-crisis.html?hp&action=click&pgtype=Homepage&clickSource=story-heading&module=photo-spot-region&region=top-news&WT.nav=top-news&_r=0] (last accessed 28 May 2018, 16:00).

[854] Sarah Chynoweth, 'We Keep it in our Heart: Sexual Violence against Men and Boys in the Syria Crisis', study from United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (October, 2017) [https://data2.unhcr.org/es/documents/download/60864#_ga=2.77279574.2119931115.1527519377-274873667.1527519377] (last accessed 28 May, 2018, 16:00)

[855] George W. Bush, 'Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People', United States Capitol, 20 September 2001, [https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010920-8.html] (last access 30 April 2018).

an interview for CNN with Anderson Cooper, he stated that 'Islam hates us'[856]. Following on from this, in the first months of his presidency he attempted to push an Executive Order to stop travellers from many Muslim-majority countries. There appears to be a combined fear of the religion of Islam and Muslim men, and there are no signs of this development slowing down. One is depicted as an ideology opposing Western civilization, the other a direct physical threat, especially to women. In this narrative medievalism often plays a large role, directly or indirectly. In 2014 Brian A. Catlos stated that the modern political events along with all the academic developments have made the study of past Christian-Muslim relations a lot more complicated.[857] This is certainly true, and was has hopefully been achieved here is show the ideas of medieval Latin people towards Muslim men were equally varied, flawed and problematic. The contemporary, political, ideas about the Middle Ages should not make us forget the complexities of the period, and that they do not necessarily reflect our world today.

[856] Theodore Schleider, 'Donald Trump: 'I think Islam hates us', *CNN Politics* (10 March 2016), [https://edition.cnn.com/2016/03/09/politics/donald-trump-islam-hates-us/index.html] (last accessed 30 April 2018, 17:00).
[857] Catlos, *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom*, pp.517-520.

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